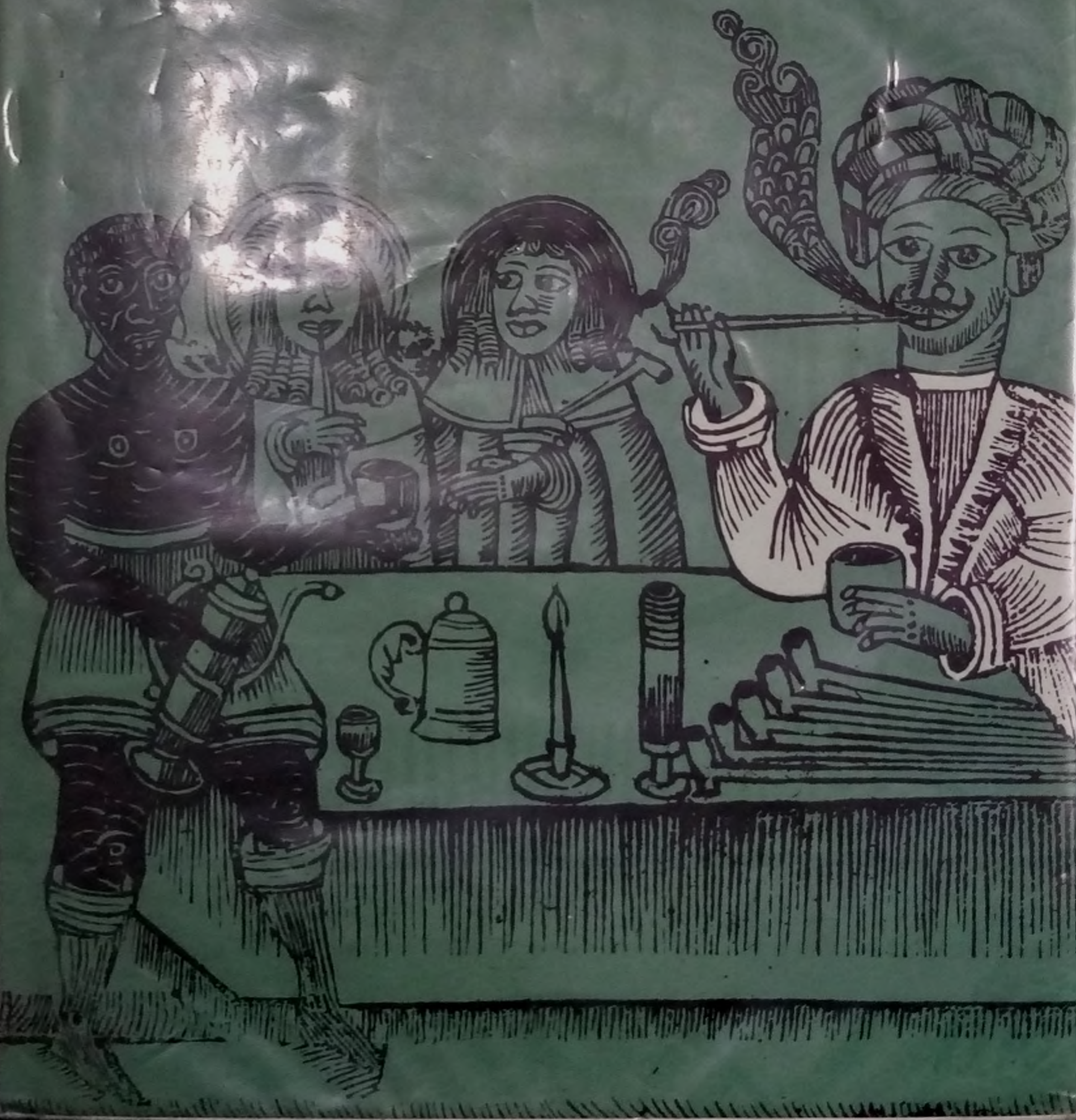
Nabil Matar

ISLAM IN BRITAIN

1558–1685



This book examines the impact of Islam on Britain in the period from the accession of Elizabeth I to the death of Charles II. Professor Matar provides a new perspective on the transformation of British thought and society by demonstrating how influential Islam was in the formation of early modern British culture.

Christian--Muslim interaction was not, as is often assumed, primarily adversarial and oppositional; rather, there was extensive cultural, intellectual and missionary engagement with Islam in Britain. The author documents the conversion of Britons to Islam and Muslims to Anglicanism, and surveys reactions to these conversions in British writings and society. He examines the role of the Arab-Islamic legacy in the *prisca sapientia* and the impact of the Qur'an on Anglican–Puritan political discourse; he also shows the role of Islam in the extensive debate over coffee during the Restoration period. Professor Matar demonstrates that in churches and in coffee-houses, in sermons, plays, and pamphlets, Britons engaged the civilization of Islam in a manner that superseded their engagement with any other non-Christian civilization in the early modern period. Finally, he turns to the theological representation of Muslims in British eschatological writings and contrasts it with the representation of the Jews.

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Nabil Matar is Professor of English at the Florida Institute of Technology. He is the author of over sixty articles on seventeenth-century English history, theology and literature and editor of *Peter Sterry: Select Writings* (1994).

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For my mother,
and in memory of my father

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Transcription

In this book, the name of the Prophet of Islam will be transcribed as "Mohammad," and the text of Islam will be transcribed as "Qur'an." In the Renaissance, "Mahomet," "Mohamet," "Alcoran," "Alcharon" and numerous other forms were used. Only in quotations will these forms be retained.

I have used the term "Britons" for all the inhabitants of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Although England, Scotland and Ireland were separate kingdoms in the period under study, and although they were ruled by the same monarch in London, I have used the term Britain (rather than England) in recognition of the fact that some of the writers, travelers, and captives mentioned in this book came from outside the borders of England proper.

I have retained the original form of all quotations. No changes have been made in spelling, syntax or punctuation.

Introduction
Islam in early modern Britain

> The Moors, both Men, Women and Children, would flock to see me; and I was much admired by them for having Flaxen-Hair, and being of a ruddy Complexion. I heard some of them say, Behold! What a pretty Maid it is! Others said, I never saw a Nazarene (ie a Christian) before. I thought they had been (said some) like unto Hallewss, (or Swine) but I see now that they are Benn. Adam, (or Children of Men).[1]

This passage was published in Exeter in 1704 and described the plight of Joseph Pitts, an English boy, who had been taken captive in 1678 by the pirates of Algiers. Similar passages in the writings of other English slaves recur, attesting to the Muslim sense of superiority at the first encounter with the fair-skinned northern peoples, the antipathy toward the infidel and finally the acceptance of the Christian as a fellow human. Joseph Pitts remained in captivity for nearly fifteen years, converted to Islam, lived and dressed like a Muslim, and became fully integrated into his masters' world. Still, he yearned for freedom and for his native England, and in about 1693, he succeeded in escaping home with the help of the English consul at Istanbul.

While the English Christian was being examined and defined by the Muslims of the Mediterranean basin – animal or human, male or female – Britons were themselves defining the native Americans, as indeed continental Europeans had done since the end of the fifteenth century. Throughout the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, while Spanish, Dutch, French, British and Portuguese Christians were conquering indigenous populations across the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, Islamic military power pushed the Ottomans and their North African satellites (the regencies of Tunisia, Tripoli [Libya] and Algeria) along with the "Empire" of Morocco beyond the Mediterranean and as far as the walls of Vienna and into the

[1] Joseph Pitts, *A True and Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahommetans in which is a particular Relation of their Pilgrimage to Mecca* (1704), p. 24. For a study of Pitts's journey, see Zahra Freeth and H. V. F. Winstone, *Explorers of Arabia: From the Renaissance to the End of the Victorian Era* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1978), chapter 2.

English Channel. Meanwhile, thousands of Britons and continental Christians were taken captive, and like Joseph Pitts, they were literally, to use Stephen Greenblatt's term, "taken possession of." As Columbus took possession of American natives for his monarch, so did Muslims take possession of European Christians for themselves and their rulers.[2]

Throughout the period roughly extending from the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558 until the death of Charles II in 1685, Britons and other Europeans met Muslims from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mediterranean and Arabian Seas. For the peoples of Spain, France, Italy and Germany, the physical proximity with Islam in continental Europe and the Mediterranean made encounters with the Muslims inevitable: as a result, their literature frequently alludes to Islam and Muslims.[3] In the case of the British Isles, there was a vast distance between London or Edinburgh and Istanbul, but still, the likelihood of an Englishman's or a Scotsman's meeting a Muslim was higher than that of meeting a native American or a sub-Saharan African because Muslims were present throughout the Mediterranean basin – which at a time of turmoil in Europe, particularly during the Thirty Years War, provided a faster and safer means of transport for traders and travelers than the continental land route. Indeed, the Muslims who had the greatest impact on Britons in the early modern period belonged to the Mediterranean basin. Theirs was the Islam which included Istanbul (to which English writers nearly always referred as Constantinople), the center of the Ottoman Empire; Aleppo, a crucial link in the silk route that led to China; Beirut, "the Mart-towne whereunto all the ships comming from Europe doe arrive";[4] Jerusalem, a city of pilgrimage; Cairo, a center of trade in the period "before European hegemony," to use Janet Abu-Lughod's phrase, witnessing "the greatest concourse of Mankind in these times, and perhaps that ever was";[5] Algiers, "the whip of the Christian

[2] Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonders of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

[3] See Albert Mas, *Les Turcs dans la littérature espagnole du Siecle d'Or*, 2 vols. (Paris: Centre de Recherches Hispaniques, 1967); Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought, and Literature (1520–1660)* (Paris: Boivin & Cie, 1940); A. Vovard, *Les Turqueries dans la littérature française: le cycle barbaresque* (Toulouse, privately printed, 1959); Cornelia Kleinlogely, *Exotik-Erotik: zur Geschichte des Turkenbildes in der deutschen Literatur der fruhen Neuzeit, 1453–1800* (New York and Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989).

[4] Giovanni Botero, *Relations of the Most Famous Kingdomes and Common-wealths thorowout the World . . . And since the last Edition by R. I. Now once againe inlarged according to moderne observation* (1630, first published in English in 1601), p. 554.

[5] Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant. A Breefe Relation of a Journey, lately performed by Master Henry Blunt Gentleman, from England by the way of Venice, into Dalmatia, Sclavonica, Bosnah, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes and Egypt, unto Gran Cairo: With particular observations concerning the moderne condition of the Turkes*, (1638, 3rd edn., first publ. 1636), p. 3.

World, the wall of the Barbarian, terror of Europe, the bridle of both Hesperias (Italy and Spaine), Scourge of the Ilands";[6] and Fez, "a world for a city" which "may rather second Grand Cairo than subjoin itself to Constantinople, being far superior in greatness with Aleppo."[7] Beyond this basin, Britons did not venture often: the Savafi Shah of Persia (the "Sophie") was the enemy of England's trading partner, the Turks, and notwithstanding the Shirley brothers' attempts in the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods to bring about an English–Persian alliance, there was not much interaction with the realm of the Sophie and with the language and civilization of Persia.[8] The Mogul Empire in India was too far to reach except for indomitable diplomats-travelers such as Sir Thomas Roe, and the interior of the Arabian Peninsula attracted only a few traders because of intense local hostility to Europeans: still, Sir Henry Middleton, John Jourdain, Francis Rogers and some others left accounts of the Arabian hinterland.[9]

Around the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa where Islam fused its Arab, Byzantine and Turkish legacies, Britons encountered a powerful religious and military civilization which viewed them as an inferior people with a false religion.[10] Whereas in the Americas the natives

[6] *Relations of the Christianitie of Africa, and especially of Barbarie, and Algier: written by J. B. Gramaye* (1619) in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols. (rep. New York: AMS Press, 1965, first publ. 1905), vol. IX, p. 278.

[7] William Lithgow, *The Rare Adventures and Painful Peregrinations*, ed. Gilbert Phelps (London: Folio Society, 1974), p. 211; see also Edward Burman, *The World Before Columbus: 1100–1492* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1989), chapters 2 and 3.

[8] John Finet noted in *Som Choice Observations of Sir John Finett Knight* (1656) that the letters of the Persian Ambassador which were presented to King James were "un-understood for want of an Interpreter no where then to be found in England," p. 136; in 1634, it was noted that "few in England will understand" Persian books because "Persian is very difficultly read," *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East India and Persia, 1630–1634*, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury (London, 1982), p. 623. For the hoped-for alliance, see the discussion in D. W. Davies, *Elizabethans Errant: The Strange Fortunes of Sir Thomas Sherley and His Three Sons* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), chapter 8: "Sir Anthony as a Secret Agent."

[9] See the *Journal of John Jourdain, 1608–1617, Describing His Experiences in Arabia, India, And the Malay Archipelago*, ed. William Foster (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1905); *The Diary of Francis Rogers* in *Three Sea Journals of Stuart Times*, ed. Bruce S. Ingram (London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1936). The Persian Empire, eastern Arabia and the Arabian Sea were surveyed more extensively by the Portuguese than by the English: V. J. Parry, "Renaissance Historical Literature in Relation to the Near and Middle East (with special reference to Paolo Giovio)," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 279. Indeed, Jourdain frequently had to use Portuguese in his communication with Muslim rulers. See C. F. Beckingham, "The Near East: North Africa and North-east Africa," in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, 2 vols., ed. D. B. Quinn (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974) where it is observed that "western Arabia" was of no "political interest to the English," vol. 1, pp. 188–189.

[10] "The regions of the Near East which were the primary sources of import and inspiration are located in the Mediterranean area, namely, Egypt, Syria, Spain and North Africa, and later Turkey": Richard Ettinghausen, "The Decorative Arts and Painting: their Character and Scope," in *The Legacy of Islam*, eds. Joseph Schacht and C. E. Bosworth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974, second edn.), p. 333.

had been defeated by the European white man, in the dominions of Islam, Britons were humiliated as Muslims "would stand and stare uppon us and spyt uppon us," as the servant of Henry Cavendish wrote in 1589.[11] Whereas the blond European had appeared as a god in the Americas – as legend had it among the Mayans and the Aztecs – for the Muslims, the redness of Pitts, as he stated himself, recalled the unclean pig. In the experience of the Americas, the European Christians held power over the native population in the same way that the Muslims held power over European Christians. In 1600, William Biddulph gave the following advice to Britons intent on traveling in the dominions of Islam:

> Neither if a man receive a box on the eare at any of their hands, must he give one bad word, or looke frowningly upon him that smote him: for then hee will strike him againe, and say, What, Goure? Dost thou curse me, and wish that the Devil had me? but hee must kisse his beard, or the skirt of his Garment, and smile upon him, and then he will let him passe.[12]

That advice was heeded by George Manwaring, Sir Robert Shirley's companion on the journey to Persia, who described how a Turk nearly pulled off his ear and dragged him around the streets of Aleppo, "with much company following me, some throwing stones at me, and some spitting on me."[13] No Muslim fell on his knees before a Briton: rather he humiliated the "Goure" (*kafir*, infidel) who could not but submit to the indignity. The Muslim not only did not fear the Englishman: he did not even recognize him. "The Turkes," wrote a contemporary of Biddulph, "knowe not what you meane by the worde Englishman."[14] From whichever angle a Briton reflected on the Muslim perception of the Christian, he realized that Muslims saw themselves in power and certitude.[15]

This realization was not confined to travelers alone. It was felt inside England, Scotland and the rest of the British Isles because of the capture and enslavement of large numbers of English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh men, women and children. Although, after the battle of Lepanto in 1571,

[11] *Mr Harrie Cavendish His Journey to and From Constantinople 1589 by Fox, his Servant*, ed. A. C. Wood (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1940), p. 15. See also p. 14: "These proud Turkes perceavyng us to be Crystyans cam to us and stroke us wythe ther rydyng whypes."

[12] William Biddulph in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. VIII, p. 292.

[13] *Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure*, ed. Sir E. Denison Ross (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1933), p. 184.

[14] [H. Timberlake], *A True and strange discourse of the trauailes of two English Pilgrimes: what admirable accidents befell them in their iourney to Jerusalem, Gaza, Grand Cayro, Alexandria, and other places* (1603), p. 8. Timberlake's advice to his countrymen was that they should introduce themselves as Frenchmen "because they are well knowne to the Turkes."

[15] For a survey of the Muslim medieval perception of Western Europeans, see Aziz Al-Azmeh, *Al'Arab wal Barabira* [Arabs and Barbarians] (London: Riad El-Rayyes, 1991), chapters 3 and 4.

major hostilities were suspended in the Mediterranean between Christians and Muslims, piracy, the "secondary form of war," continued.[16] For in this period, the "Barbary states were in the same league as naval powers as England and France,"[17] and their ships ranged from North Africa to Arabia and from the English Channel to the Spanish and Moroccan coasts; furthermore, their pirates captured single men and whole families, travelers and soldiers, traders and clergymen. This capture led to an experience which Ritchie Robertson has described as the "direct encounter" between the European – now denied his military strength and cultural certitude – and the non-European.[18] Although Robertson (commenting on Urs Bitterli) and Greenblatt alluded only briefly to this "direct encounter" in their work, and although neither applied it to the domain of Islam, it was a category that widely informed the encounter of Britons with Muslims in this period – where the former found themselves in a position of powerlessness before, and enslavement by, the latter.

No definite number can be given of the men and women who were captured or captured-and-converted to Islam, but the extant records, biographies and autobiographies of England's early modern history include repeated references to these Britons. Indeed, from their earliest forays into the Mediterranean in the early sixteenth century, Britons had had to contend with the captivity and/or conversion of their compatriots by the Muslims. Sometime between 1580 and 1582, Queen Elizabeth was urged by the East Levant Company representatives in Istanbul

> to preserve her subjects . . . from future captivity in his [the Ottoman Sultan's] dominions, the redemption of which in these 20 years (no doubt) hath cost this realm four thousand pounds, and yet divers to this day remain there unrescated of which some (the more be pitied) have turned Turks.[19]

Evidently, and ever since the first recorded visit of a Briton into the Ottoman Empire, Anthony Jenkinson in 1553, there had been English traders and seamen in the Mediterranean, some of whom fell into Muslim hands and converted to Islam. Although neither the number nor the names of these captives have survived, the sum of "four thousand pounds" that was spent on ransoming the above "subjects" indicates a sizeable group.

[16] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols., trans. Sian Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973, first publ. 1949), vol. II, p. 865.

[17] Peter Earle, *Corsairs of Malta and Barbary* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1970), p. 46. Earle observes that Algiers possessed the largest fleet and Tripoli the smallest.

[18] Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters Between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492–1800*, trans. Ritchie Robertson (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), p. 3.

[19] Quoted in M. Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company* (London: George Routledge, 1908, repr. 1968), pp. 241–242.

In January 1584, there was a money collection in London to redeem sixty English captives among the Muslims;[20] on February 4, 1585, two Englishmen, William Moore and Robert Rawlin, were freed from the Algerian galleys, but others, they reported, remained in captivity;[21] in June 1586, English ships were captured by the Barbary corsairs, and ten years later, arrangements were made in London to redeem Englishmen who had been enslaved in Algiers "lest they follow the example of others and turn Turk."[22] So numerous were the Englishmen in North African captivity that by 1598, the Spital Sermons, preached on the Monday and Tuesday after Easter from a special pulpit at St. Mary Spital outside of Bishopsgate, were becoming closely identified with church collections for ransoming "prisoners of the Turk or other heathens."[23]

During the Jacobean period, and partly as a result of an inadequate naval deterrent, British ships were relentlessly pursued, captured or sunk by the Muslims: between 1609 and 1616, it was reported that 466 English ships were attacked and their crews enslaved;[24] in January 1618, a "Scotch ship" was "taken by Turkish pirates."[25] Between 1620 and 1621, wrote Sir Thomas Roe from Istanbul, more than 100 ships were taken by the North Africans, and in "Algier alone were found 1200 captiues";[26] in 1621, six English ships were lost to the Turks, and in June 1624, a general collection was held throughout the kingdom for the relief of "1,500 English captives in Algiers, Tunis, Sally [on the Atlantic coast of Morocco], and Tituane" (on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco).[27] In April 1625, a Turkish pirate ship captured a Dartmouth and three Cornish ships, and in the following month, an entry in the *Calendar of State Papers* stated that "The Turks are upon our coasts. They take ships only to take the men to make slaves of them."[28] In July of that same year, 600 English slaves were known to be at

20 *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series. Of the Reign of Elizabeth Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1583–1584*, vol. XVIII, p. 330.

21 *Ibid., August 1584 – August 1585*, vol. XIX, p. 269.

22 *The Fugger News-Letters, Second Series*, ed. Victor von Klarwill, trans. L. S. R. Byrne (New York and London. G P Putnam's Sons, 1926), p. 110; G. B. Harrison, *A Second Elizabethan Journal, Being a Record of those Things Most Talked of During the Years 1595–1598* (New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1931), p. 132.

23 Harrison, *A Second Elizabethan Journal*, p. 273.

24 Michael J. Brown, *Itinerant Ambassador: The Life of Sir Thomas Roe* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), p. 138. See also "The council to Lord Zouch. The pirates of Algiers and Tunis have grown so strong that in a few years they have taken 300 ships, and imprisoned many hundred persons," *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, James I, 1619–1623*, vol. X, p. 12 (abbreviated in subsequent notes as *C.S.P Domestic*). The statement was written in February 1619.

25 *C.S.P. Domestic Series, James I, 1611–1618*, vol. IX, p. 514.

26 *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe, in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte, from the Year 1621 to 1628 Inclusive* (London, 1740), pp. 572–573.

27 *C.S.P. Domestic, James I*, vol. X, p. 273; *ibid.*, vol. XI, p. 287.

28 *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I, 1625–1626*, vol. I, pp. 11 and 20.

Sali,[29] and in August, it was feared that "within 2 years [the Turks] will not leave the King sailors to man his fleet."[30]

The accession of Charles I to the throne in 1625 did not change this situation: instead it aggravated it as Charles found himself embroiled in domestic political conflict. The capture of ships, men and women increased and confirmed the image of a forceful and powerful Islam. By May 1626, it was reported that there were 3,000 British captives in Algiers and 1,500 in Sali.[31] Furthermore, Turkish attacks were no longer confined to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, but they extended into the port towns and villages of the British Isles: in August 1625, the "Turks took out of the Church of 'Munnigesca' in Mounts' Bay [Cornwall], about 60 men, women and children, and carried them away captives"; and in 1631, the Turks took 140 persons from Baltimore, County Cork, and made them slaves.[32] No wonder that for Sir John Eliot, vice-admiral of Devon, the sea surrounding the British Isles "seem'd theirs."[33] The Turks also attacked ships in British waters: in 1634, two barks from Minehead sailing with passengers and goods to Ireland were captured by the Turks,[34] and on September 20, 1635, a ship off Scilly was taken by six Sali men-of-war;[35] a few days later, Turkish pirates were near "those western parts,"[36] and in March 1636, it was reported that thirty-six "English, Scottish and Irish ships have been taken, and there are now 400 captives of English, Scots, and Irish."[37] In June 1636, three fishing boats with fifty men in them were captured by the Turks "near Black Head, between Falmouth and the Lizard";[38] in that same month, it was reported that the coast was "now full" of Turks and that "200 Christians" had been "brought into Sallee in April last in one day";[39] in August 1638, "Turkish men-of-war of Algiers" took "some of his Majesty's subjects" in the English Channel.[40] By October 1640, families of 3,000 Englishmen held in captivity in Algiers were petitioning the King for help, and two years later the author of *Libertas* stated that the number of Englishmen "in chaines" had risen to 5,000.[41]

29 *Ibid.*, p. 54. 30 *Ibid.*, p. 81. 31 *Ibid.*, p. 343.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 89; *ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 535. The attack on Baltimore took place in June 1631 and resulted in the capture of eighty-nine women and children and twenty men: see the extensive study of this episode by Henry Barnby, "The Sack of Baltimore," *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 74 (1969): 101–129.

33 Sir John Eliot, *An Apology for Socrates and Negotium Posterorum*, 2 vols., ed. Alexander B. Grosart (London, 1881), vol. II, pp. 3–4.

34 Public Record Office, SP 71.1. f. 157. 35 *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I*, vol. VIII, p. 389.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 398. 37 *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 303. 38 *Ibid.*, vol. X, p. 4.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 72. 40 *Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 607.

41 Henry Robinson, *Libertas, or Reliefe to the English Captives in Algier . . . Presented to the serious Consideration of the Honourable Court of Parliament* (1642), p. 5. In his *Piracy and the English Government, 1616–1642*, David Delison Hebb provides a detailed examination of British losses to the Barbary corsairs (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994). As his title indicates, however, his study ends at the beginning of the Civil Wars.

The "Turks and Moors" of North Africa and the rest of the Ottoman dominions were spreading alarm in England, Wales and elsewhere in the British Isles, especially among fishermen, sailors, traders and the Levant Company's representatives in Parliament. From Minehead to Dartmouth, from Bristol to Portsmouth, and from the Thames where a Turkish ship was captured in 1617 to the Severn into which the Turks penetrated in September 1624 and to the Isle of Lundy, their impact was felt.[42] The news about the Turks' incursions, wrote Sir Nicholas Slanning to Sir Francis Vane in September 1635, "terrifies the country."[43] There was so much concern about the Turkish attacks and about the fate of English captives that in December 1640, a Committee for Algiers was appointed by Parliament whose main task was to oversee the ransoming of English captives. Members of the Committee included a cross-section of English military, ecclesiastical and parliamentary authority: there was the Lord Admiral of the Fleet, the Bishops of London, Winchester and Rochester, and Members of Parliament chiefly (but not exclusively) from coastal areas both in the west as well as the east of the realm.[44] In 1641, "An Act for the reliefe of the Captives taken by Turkish Moorish and other Pirates" was passed (16 Car I. c. 24), and in the next few years, further measures were taken by Parliament: "Ordinance for Collection to be made for relief of Captives in Algiers" (April 25, 1643); "Ordinance for Redemption of the Captives in Algiers" (October 24, 1644); "An Ordinance for the raising of Moneys for the Redemption of distressed Captives" (January 28, 1645); and on November 12, 1646, "An Ordinance for the Continuing of the Argier Duty, for the Releasing of distressed Captives, taken by Turkish, Moorish, and other Pirates, was this Day read the First and Second time."[45] Throughout the 1640s, the House of Commons had to address the problem of captives and their ransoms. Even foreign refugees were given permission to collect money in England for the redemption of their kin from Muslim

[42] Thames: *C.S.P. Domestic, James I, 1611–1618*, vol. IX, p. 427; at one point, the Turks reached as far into the Thames as Leigh: see Sir Godfrey Fisher, *Barbary Legend: War, Trade and Piracy in North Africa 1415–1830* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 178; Severn: *C.S.P. Domestic, James I, 1623–1625*, vol. XI, p. 334.

[43] *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I, 1635*, vol. VIII, p. 389.

[44] *The Private Journals of the Long Parliament, 3 January to 5 March 1642*, eds. Willson H. Coates, Anne Steele Young and Vernon F Snow (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 144, 169.

[45] *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, 3 vols., eds. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), vol. X, pp. 134–135; *ibid.*, pp. 553–554; *ibid.*, pp. 609–611. See also pp. 731–735. For the last ordinance, see *Journals of the House of Commons*, comp. Timothy Cunningham (1785), vol. IV, p. 719.

slavery.[46] To many Britons, the Muslims posed a danger to all of Christendom, from Greece to England, and from "Muscovy" to Ireland.

During the Commonwealth and the Restoration periods, the English navy became powerful enough to force peace treaties on the Barbary Corsairs. Still, captives continued to be taken by the Muslims: in February 1662, 300 slaves in Algiers petitioned the King for help,[47] and three years later, the wives and families of eighty captives there petitioned him;[48] in 1668, a patent authorized a "collection to be made in all churches and chapels for two years, for the redemption of English subjects, captives in miserable slavery in Algiers, Sally, and other parts of the Turkish dominions,"[49] and in June 1670, a petition was presented to the King on behalf of "140 men from Stepney" who had been captured from "Twenty-two merchant ships" by the Algerians.[50] In that same year, a list of Britons captive in Algiers was published "for the Benefit of those that have Relations there": it consisted of the names of 380 men and women who were still enslaved, only two of whom were not from the British Isles.[51] Although the English fleet could now bombard the harbor towns of the Barbary Coast and burn a few ships, the corsairs were always able to return to action.

The Britons who were captured in these attacks came from all over the British Isles: from Liverpool to Dover, from Dundee to Hull and from Edinburgh to Barnstaple, although the highest number came from London. Communities in large cities and hamlets, in harbor towns and agricultural villages contributed to the number of captives, and families throughout the British Isles shared in the anxiety over their kin. They also endured poverty as a result of the abduction of their wage-earning relatives and of the losses incurred by the traders who paid the salaries of those relatives. One report stated in April 1627 that the losses from the Turks amounted to £26,000 "besides the relief of the wives and children" of the captives.[52] In September 1635, sixty seamen were abducted near Lizard Point as they

[46] See the references to a Russian and a Greek in *C.S.P. Domestic, James I, 1619–1623*, vol. X, p. 475 and *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I, 1625–1626*, vol. I, p. 557 respectively. Such petitions continued into the Restoration period, see *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles II, 1664–1665*, vol. IV, pp. 142–143. See also *ibid.*, vol. X, p. 606, where reference is made to a patent granted to collect money for "certain poor captives redeemed from Turkish slavery."

[47] *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles II, 1661–1662*, vol. II, p. 285. [48] *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 88.

[49] *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, p. 161. The petitions continued well into the last years of Charles's reign: *ibid.*, vol. XXIII, p. 578.

[50] *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles II, 1670*, vol. X, p. 294. See also *A True Relation of the Victory and Happy Success of a Squadron of His Majesties Fleet in the Mediterranean, against the Pyrates of Algiers* (Savoy, 1670).

[51] Henry Printall, *A List of the English Captives taken by the Pyrates of Argier, made Publick for the Benefit of those that have Relations there* (1670). See the reference to this figure in *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles II, 1670*, vol. X, p. 186.

[52] *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I, 1627–1628*, vol. II, p. 146.

were returning to Dartmouth: their "wives and children are becoming an intolerable burthen," wrote the mayor of Dartmouth to the Privy Council.[53] In that same year, wives of captured sailors and soldiers organized themselves into a group, and over a thousand of them petitioned Parliament for assistance in redeeming their captive kinsmen;[54] three years later, in May 1638, another petition was presented by "divers poor women, in behalf of their husbands in captivity in Algiers, to the King."[55] Vast multitudes of what must have resembled the twentieth-century "women-for-the-kidnapped" assembled in London near the Houses of Parliament and Whitehall seeking help. For captives left behind them not only needy families but communities concerned about the increasing expenses of maintaining unprovided-for wives and children: ever since the Poor Relief Act of 1598 (and then 1601), the relief of the poor had become the responsibility of the parish community.[56]

Parallel to these strains on parishes was the strain on trade which witnessed a major crisis from 1616 on as a result of England's failure to reorganize its cloth export and to compete effectively with the Dutch.[57] By their attacks, Muslims were destabilizing England's commercial activity and the production and manufacture of its exportable goods. Mariners and seaports were affected by the Turks, as were numerous industries which depended on foreign markets. By 1605, the Levant Company claimed to be employing more than 40,000 people – and those were making fustian only.[58] Trade with Islamic countries was essential, especially because it produced "a healthy balancing of imports and exports" for England.[59] Indeed, of all the countries of Europe, Britain enjoyed the most extensive trade with the Muslim Empire in the seventeenth century: it exported dyed broadcloth, kersies, tin and lead, and imported currants, cotton, wool and yarn, spices, oils, chemicals, silk and other

[53] *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, p. 398. [54] *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 15.

[55] *Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 477. See also p. 478: "Pray speedy order may be taken for redemption of the captives and relief of petitioners."

[56] Henry Kamen, *The Iron Century: Social Change in Europe, 1550–1660* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), p. 407. See also "An Act for the Relief of the Poor" (1598) in *The Statutes of the Realm* (Buffalo, NY: W. S. Hein, repr. 1993), vol. IV, p. 896.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 81

[58] Epstein, *The Levant Company*, p. 55. See the letter by Richard Stapers to the Earl of Salisbury dated 19 October, 1607, in which the former warned against losing the trade with Turkey to the Venetians since that loss would lead to the "utter undoing of a great number of poor people at home, set on work by the same trade in making fustians. For whereas in times past the trade of Spain did vent yearly 20,000 coloured cloths and kerseys, now none at all: therefore there is the more necessity to maintain this trade of Turkey": *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury*, eds. M. S. Giuseppi and D. McN. Lockie (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1965), part XIX, p. 287.

[59] Robinson, *Libertas*, p. 6.

material.[60] Some of these imports, such as silk, stimulated new industries in Wiltshire and Gloucester, Essex and Suffolk. The Lancashire cotton industry may also have originated in the Levant trade: the Manchester cloth manufacturers imported cotton and wool from Cyprus and Izmir (Smyrna), turned it into finished products and then loaded it on ships for export.[61] By the end of the seventeenth century, trade with Turkey accounted, according to Sir John Chardin, for one quarter of all England's overseas commercial activity.[62] This trade constituted the principal foreign commercial activity not only of England, but of France and Holland too: that is why the destabilization of that trade had widespread national consquences.[63]

In light of the Muslim impact on English commerce and society, it is not surprising that in their early modern relations with the Muslims, English writers did not express either the authority of possessiveness or the security of domination which later gave rise to what Edward Said has termed "Orientalism."[64] In his ground-breaking study in 1978, Said traced the image of the Muslims and the Arabs in European thought from the second half of the eighteenth century until the twentieth century and showed how European/Western writers developed methods of scholarship by which they "constructed" and "defined" the "natives" in order to prepare and justify the process of colonization. Said focused his argument on the post Napoleonic experience of Europe, and he did not touch on the Renaissance encounter between England (nor the rest of Europe) and the Muslims: for only after the Ottoman Empire began its military and intellectual decline in the eighteenth century did Europeans proceed to draw, paint, poeticize and imagine the Muslims the way they liked. Only then did the lands of Islam become material for orientalist "construction" and for continental and British colonization.

In the period under study, however, Britain did not enjoy military or industrial power over Islamic countries. Rather, the Muslims had a power

[60] Ralph Davis, "England and the Mediterranean," in *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England*, ed. F. J. Fisher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), p. 124. Halil Inalick stated that according to W. Sombart, "without recognizing the significance of the Levant trade for Western economic expansion it is difficult to comprehend the rise of Western capitalism": "The Turkish Impact on the Development of Modern Europe" in *The Ottoman State and its Place in World History*, ed. Kemal H. Karpat (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1974), p. 57.

[61] Epstein, *The Levant Company*, pp. 128–129.

[62] Quoted in Thomas H. Fujimura, "Etherege at Constantinople," *Publication of the Modern Language Association (PMLA)*, 62 (1956), p. 467 n. In 1671, for example, England imported 249,502 lbs. of raw silk from Turkey but only 14,563 lbs. from Italy: *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles II, 1671*, vol. XI, p. 6.

[63] See the chapter on "Industry" in James E. Gillespie, *The Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1920, repr. 1974).

[64] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), the introduction.

of self-representation which English writers knew they had either to confront or to engage. That is why the second half of the sixteenth century saw numerous translations into English of continental writings about the Turks, and why the first text to be written by an English author about the military and political history of the Ottomans was in English not Latin: Richard Knolles's *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603). Knowledge of the Ottoman Empire, the "Great terror of the world," as Knolles described it, was becoming essential to the general reading public. Although many English and Scottish theologians and writers vilified and misrepresented Islam and Muslims in their works, they realized that Ottoman military power had a forceful impact on them and that the lands of Islam were beyond colonization and "domination."[65]

Nevertheless, twentieth-century historians and literary analysts of the English attitude toward Islam have ignored this element of power which Renaissance Britons associated with Muslims and through which they defined their relationship with them. Instead, they have adopted the post-colonialist discourse of "constructing" the Muslims and have then applied it on early English drama and travelogue.[66] By so doing, they did not take into account the fact that it was not England but the Ottoman Empire of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that was pushing into Europe, conquering Rhodes and Crete, attacking the Spanish, French, Dutch, English, and Scottish trading fleets, landing "upon our coasts," impoverishing "that part of the kingdom" near the Channel,[67] and enslaving thousands of men and women, many of whom converted to Islam. Muslims did not see themselves in a subservient position to Christendom, let alone to England. Ja'far Pahsa, wrote the seventeenth-century Turkish traveler, Evliya Effendi,

> spread terror amongst the infidels. That same year [1633], on the Feast of Victims, he met three English men-of-war in the Mediterranean, between the castles of Kesendreh and Koluz. The English being fire-worshippers, according to the sacred text, "They were burnt and the men drowned"; they set fire to two of the vessels. The third, with two hundred guns, was taken before they could set fire to it, and was brought with immense booty to Sultan Murad.[68]

[65] It is therefore surprising that Braudel views the impact of Muslim attacks on England as "mere pin-pricks," *The Mediterranean*, vol. II, p. 886. The same view appears in Ohran Burian, "Interest of the English in Turkey as Reflected in English Literature of the Renaissance," *Oriens*, 5 (1952), p. 209.

[66] See my "The Traveler as Captive: The Allure of Islam in Renaissance England," *Literature Interpretation Theory*, 7 (1996): 187–196.

[67] *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I, 1625–1626*, vol. I, p. 20; *ibid.*, p. 320.

[68] Evliya Effendi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Ritter Joseph von Hammer (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1834), part I, p. 142. Effendi lived between c. 1611 and 1682.

Islam "dominated" and "taken possession of" might be applicable in the post-Napoleonic history of the Middle East; to apply it retroactively to the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries is historically inaccurate.

From the medieval period until the end of the eighteenth century, Britain, unlike, for instance, Spain and Portugal, did not undertake a single colonial enterprise in the domain of Islam. Since the beginning of English overseas settlements in 1583, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert founded the colony of Newfoundland, until exactly a century later, England did not successfully colonize any part of the Muslim dominions. In the 1630s, King Charles was encouraged by some of the English merchants in Morocco to attempt the conquest of Salee, and in 1641, Robert Blake, commander of the English fleet in the Mediterranean, also pressed the King to attack the "Castle" in the city; in 1657, General Monk thought England would benefit by controlling the "castle in the Streight's [Gibraltar] Mouth, which the Portugals have called Tangier" and which, he thought, could be defended by "an hundred men."[69] In 1661, Tangier came into English hands as part of King Charles's dowry from his Portuguese bride, but then, General Monk, now the Duke of Albemarle, realized that "a considerable garrison" was "little enough to defend it against the continual attacks of the Moors"; in 1683–1684, Tangier was evacuated because of England's inability to maintain it against the Moors.[70] Throughout the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, Britain carried out very successful trade with the Levant and North Africa, but that trade "did not lead directly to empire in the conventional sense of territorial possession overseas, nor even to the kind of domination that was later associated with imperial 'spheres of influence'."[71] The trade with the Muslims led to wealth but not to possession: Britain's imperialist thrust was directed westward not eastward.

Herein lies the importance of the Renaissance perspective on Islam in Britain: from the King at Whitehall to a slave in an "Algerine" bagnio, from the university theologian to the cabin boy, Britons recognized that they could not "take possession" of the "Turks." Mediterranean Islam was self-sustained and self-representing because it was militarily formidable and did not consist of lands and peoples – as in the Americas –

[69] *Les Sources Inédites de L'Histoire du Maroc*, 3 vols., eds. Pierre de Cenival and Philippe de Cosse Brissac (Paris: Paul Geuthner 1936), vol. III, p. 549; Adam Anderson (1692–1765), *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce*, 4 vols. (London, 1801), vol. II, p. 441.

[70] *The Tangier Papers of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Edwin Chappell (London: Printed for the Navy Records Society, 1935), p. 82.

[71] Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, plunder and settlement: Maritime enterprise and the genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 99.

that could be possessed. On the contrary, the Turkish empire, admitted Thomas Fuller,

> is the greatest and best-compacted (not excepting the Romane it self in the height thereof) that the sunne ever saw. Take sea and land together (as bones and flesh make up one bodie) and from Buda in the West to Tauris in the East, it stretcheth about three thousand miles: little lesse in the extent thereof North and South. It lieth in the heart of the world, like a bold champion bidding defiance to all his borderers, commanding the most fruitfull countreys of Europe, Asia, and Africa: Onely America (not more happy in her rich mines then in her remoteness) lieth free from the reach thereof.[72]

Because of its magnitude and civilization, this Empire played a significant role in the formation of British (and European) history and identity: for it was always engaged and alluded to, recalled and examined – and became part of the English world view in the same way that the Communist bloc during the Cold War partly shaped Western self-understanding. Bernard Lewis has noted that the emergence of modern Europe was in a "sense defined and delimited by the frontiers of Muslim power in the east, the southeast, and the south."[73] In the period after the end of the Crusades in the sixteenth century and before the beginning of European colonialism in the eighteenth century, Islam "defined" and "delimited" the north too, England in particular.

The fact that Christian Europeans in the period under study were not only militarily threatened by Islam but were also attracted to many of Islam's cultural and religious characteristics has been sparsely explored by contemporary historians. Only D. M. Vaughan and Paul Coles have written about the extent of the Ottoman impact on Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Bernard Lewis has spoken of the "powerful attraction" of Christians to Islam (although he confined that attraction to medieval Spain and Sicily) and the "powerful fascination" which the Islamic world exercised on the West (although he limited that fascination to the toleration which Christians admired in the Islamic model of Turkish administration).[74] Christine Woodhead has emphasized how modern scholars have failed to

[72] Thomas Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre* (1639), p. 282. See also for the same view, George Meriton, *A Geographical Description of the World* (1674, 2nd edn., first publ. 1671), p. 146.

[73] Bernard Lewis, *Cultures in Conflict: Christians, Muslims and Jews in the Age of Discovery* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 13.

[74] D. M. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk: A Pattern of Alliances, 1300–1700* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1954); Paul Coles, *The Ottoman Impact on Europe* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968); Bernard Lewis, "Europe and Islam," in *Islam and the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 13; Lewis, "Politics and War," in Joseph Schacht, ed., *The Legacy of Islam*, pp. 200–201. Robert Schwoebel in *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453–1517)* also used the term "fascination" (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967), p. 91.

recognize the element of power associated with the Ottoman Empire in early modern England.[75]

The religious and cultural power of Islam did not stem from Islam's nebulous "mystique" – to use Maxime Rodinson's term; nor from a troubling "obsession," a term that has been repeatedly used in recent scholarship about the "orient" and the "Ottomans."[76] Rather, Islam projected an allure that promised a common Briton social and political power, and turned a poor European soldier into a well-paid *rais* (corsair captain: it was the allure of an empire that changed an Englishman's hat into a turban – with all the symbolism of strength associated with the Islamic headdress – a Christian "John" into a Muslim "Ramadan," and allowed converts to Islam to fulfil themselves in worldly power and glory: ". . . in the great Turkes Soray," asked Francis Knight rhetorically, "who are his Courtiers? who his Councellors? who his Vissiers? who his Bashawes? who his greatest Instruments, but these denyers, the sonnes of Christians."[77] Having spent years in Muslim captivity, Knight was all too familiar with those former Christians who had become powerful Muslims.

Thousands of European Christians converted to Islam in the Renaissance and the seventeenth century, either because their poor social conditions forced them toward such a choice, or because they sought to identify with a powerful empire, much like the converts to Christianity in nineteenth-century Africa or the proselytes to (mainly American brands of) Protestantism in the second half of the twentieth century in South America.[78] The Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries presented a higher civilization than Christendom and offered opportunities to numerous Christians who sought employment and advancement.

[75] Christine Woodhead, "'The Present Terrour of the World'? Contemporary Views of the Ottoman Empire c1600," *History*, 72 (1987): 20–37.

[76] Maxime Rodinson, *Europe and the Mystique of Islam*, trans. Roger Veinus (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1987/1991); Bernard Lewis, "The Ottoman Obsession," in *Islam and the West*, pp. 72–85; John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture, 1500–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[77] Francis Knight, *A Relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie Vnder the Turkes of Argeire, suffered by an English Captive Merchant* (1640), p. 2. See also the list "Of the Basha his Officers and Retinue" where reference is made to numerous renegades, p. 56.

[78] It is therefore unfortunate that Samuel Chew, in his magisterial study of the image of Muslims and Islam in Renaissance England, insisted that the Christian converts to Islam were "miserable" because they were humiliated and tormented by their conscience, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England During the Renaissance* (New York: Octagon Press, 1974, first publ. 1937), p. 376 and all of chapter 8. Chew quoted from the reports of English and Scottish travelers who had been shocked at the sight of their compatriots in Muslim dress and service and who subsequently painted them in the worst possible color. But as will be shown below, conversion to Islam was known to both British and continental Christians to provide opportunities that were unavailable in European society. See François Berrot, "Islam et liberte de conscience a la Renaissance," in *La liberte de conscience (XVIe–XVIIe siecles): Actes du Colloque de Mulhouse et Bale (1989)*, ed. Hans R. Guggisberg (Geneva: Librarie Droz, S.A., 1991), pp. 189–190.

And since for many Christians, especially the poor and illiterate, conversion to Islam did not entail a traumatic change from one religion into another,[79] then it was possible to view conversion in the same way that Greek Orthodox Christians viewed their "conversion" to Anglicanism and Presbyterianism in the nineteenth-century Middle East: as an adoption of a religion which provided them with a sense of imperial power and with prospects for success. Although there were already infrastructural and economic weaknesses in the Ottoman Empire, they were not yet widely evident to the average Christian/Briton.

Bernard Lewis has described the Christians who converted to Islam in this period as "few" and chiefly "adventurers"; "the number of Europeans embracing Islam," he repeated, "was minimal" and again to be categorized as "adventurers." For him, and others who have advanced this "adventurism" of the convert, any Christian who accepted Islam in the Renaissance was either a religious experimenter or a refugee – somebody without a clear motivation who preferred Islamic excitement to Christian stability.[80] But converts to Islam were not just "few" as Lewis has argued: J. B. Gramaye, who was cited by Purchas, wrote in 1619 that in the kingdom of Algiers, there were 200,000 Christians most of whom were "Renegados or Apostatas." In the city of Algiers, "every yeere above five hundred become Mahumetan Apostataes; besides, about fiftie Boyes yeerly circumcised against their wills." Although the forced conversion of children militates against the attraction of Islam, the high numbers of converts support the argument for its allure, "the rewards of riches and honour." The number of Christian converts in the city of Algiers alone, Gramaye continued, at the time of writing the treatise, was "above sixe thousand of renied [converted] Christians."[81] The Austrian Baron Wenceslas Wratislaw (1576–1635), who had been imprisoned by the Turks, noted in 1599 that converts to Islam were so numerous that they "regulate the whole dominions of the Turkish emperor";[82] there were more renegades "in Turkie and Barbary," confirmed in 1614 the barber-surgeon William Davies who had also been

[79] Earle, *Corsairs*, pp. 90–93.

[80] Lewis, "Europe and Islam," pp. 14, 25. Robert Schwoebel concurred with Lewis ("Christian adventurers and renegades") while adding the term "opportunists" to the converts: Schwoebel, *Shadow of the Crescent*, p. 212. G. N. Clark believed that Christian Europeans who either converted to Islam or engaged the Muslims represent the dregs of Europe's superior civilization: they show how "naturally a civilization [European] appears at its worst on its frontiers, where disorderly elements are beyond control." For Clark, a Christian who converted to Islam or who joined the dominion of the Muslims was a man run wild: G. N. Clark, "Barbary Corsairs in the Seventeenth Century," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 8 (1945–1946), 35.

[81] *Relations of the Christianitie of Africa* in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. IX, pp. 268, 278 and 272.

[82] *Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratislaw of Mitrowitz*, ed. A. H. Wratislaw (London: Bell and Daldy, 1862), p. 53.

imprisoned by the Turks, than "naturall Turkes."[83] Sir Walter Raleigh referred to "Renegadoes" as a group in their own right, much like Christians and "Moores."[84] There were so many "renegades" in the Muslim Empire that well into the eighteenth century there was a gate in Algiers called "Renegado's Gate."[85]

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Christianity lost ground in Eastern and Central Europe because Islam was expanding both demographically and geographically. If the early medieval period witnessed numerous conversions from Islam to Christianity in Spain and Sicily,[86] in the late medieval and the Renaissance periods, the conversions were from Christianity to Islam; and they were, as François Berriot has observed, "multiples."[87] G. N. Clark stated that converts were in the "thousands," and Robert Schwoebel confirmed that there were "large numbers" of converts.[88]

Writing at the end of the Second World War, Clark conceded the high number of converts, but he insisted that seventeenth-century Europe "stood in the main for a higher civilization against a lower" (Muslim North Africa): for him, European culture could not but have been superior to those Middle Eastern and North African territories which by 1945 had been colonized by European powers.[89] Stephen Clissold, in *The Barbary Slaves*, was willing to grant Islamic culture success in attracting Britons and other Christians to its fold, but he found no better analogy to explain such success than the modern-day "terrorist" who achieves his goals by "holding to ransom, blackmail and the extortion of protection money." Because

[83] William Davies, *True Relation of the Travailes and most miserable Captiuitie of William Dauies, Barber-Surgion of London, under the Duke of Florence* (1614), B3v.

[84] *The Life and Death of Mahomet, The Conquest of Spaine Together with the Rysing and Ruine of the Sarazen Empire* (1637), 86. See also Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, vol. II, pp. 885, 889.

[85] *The Adventures of Thomas Pellow, of Pentyn, Mariner*, ed. Robert Brown (London, n. p., 1890), p. 53.

[86] Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), chapter 2.

[87] Berriot, "Islam et liberte," p. 188.

[88] There are very few studies that examine the English reaction to Christian conversion: see F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols., ed. Margaret M. Hasluck (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), vol. II, pp. 443–470; Ohran Burian, "Interest of the English"; Fuad Sha'ban, "The Mohammedan World in English Literature, c. 1580–1642: Illustrated by a text of *The Travailes of the Three English Brothers*" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1965), chapter 3. The best historical survey of the interaction between Christians and Muslims in the Islamic world is *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, eds. Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990). This text, however, does not touch on England and focuses instead on the medieval dominions of Islam. See also Edward S. Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks from the beginning of their Empire to the Present Time* (London, 1854), p. 107; and Lord Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries* (New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1977), pp. 48–49, 116–117, 206–211.

[89] Clark, "Barbary Corsairs," p. 35.

Islam exerted power and allure which resulted in drawing European Christians away from their religion, Islam became the bane of Christendom, or, as Clissold stated about Muslim North Africa, "Christendom's Gulag Archipelago." Although in the Renaissance period, Spaniards expelled Jews and Muslims because of their faith and "impure" blood, and French Catholics massacred Protestants, and English Protestants massacred Irish men and women and children, and theories of white racial superiority acquired Christian legitimization in the Americas, it is the Muslims of North Africa, according to Clissold, whose slave-prisons are to be compared with the "concentration-camp" of the twentieth century. In this respect, Clissold conveniently ignored the extensive research of Sir Godfrey Fisher and Peter Earle who showed that slavery by Christians in the Mediterranean was as widespread as that by Muslims, and that the North African attacks on Christian ships – including those of England and Scotland – were often in retaliation to attacks on Turkish ships and the enslavement of Muslims in Italy, Spain, Malta and England.[90]

Fisher and Earle carefully showed how alluring Islam was in the early modern period. Nevertheless, other historians have not conceded that allure – particularly not to England. David Pailin has stated that the "anxiety" which was felt by Britons toward Islam in the late seventeenth century was not because of "fear of Muslim power nor [of] the expectation of conversions to Islam": but such a statement runs contrary to all available evidence.[91] Indeed, England provides an excellent case in point to challenge what Lewis, Pailin and others have proposed: although geographically far from the Ottoman Empire, England and the rest of the British Isles produced numerous converts who later settled in that Empire. The data that will be cited below (chapter 1) demonstrate that there were high numbers of converts in the Muslim dominions who hailed not only from the continent but from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Furthermore, England produced a vast literature showing the extent of Britons' interaction with Muslims as adversaries, as allies, and as "renegadoes." Actually, and in the final analysis, it is not as important to ascertain how many "thousands" of continental and British Christians converted to Islam as to recognize that Britons believed the numbers to be quite high. So much did the direct encounter with Islam and the subsequent conversion to "Mahometanism" concern Britons that the topic appears in

[90] Stephen Clissold, *The Barbary Slaves* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1992, first publ. 1977), p. 4; Fisher, *Barbary Legend*; see Braudel's praise of Fisher, *The Mediterranean*, vol. II, p. 867; Earle, *Corsairs*, chapters 1–4.

[91] David Pailin, *Attitudes to Other Religions: Comparative Religion in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), p. 86.

their literary and theological writings in every decade in the period under study.

Converts to Islam both embarrassed and provoked some of the most important writers and theologians of the European Renaissance. While the "direct encounter" with Islam affected the "small men" of Christendom – sailors, fishermen, merchants and soldiers – the intellectual and religious impact of that encounter challenged men whose writings and influence have been instrumental in defining early modern European culture: from Pope Pius II to Martin Luther and John Locke, from John Calvin to Christopher Marlowe, from John Foxe to George Fox, from Cervantes to Shakespeare, Massinger and Dryden – all reflected, to varying degrees in their writings, on the interaction between Christendom and Islam. Furthermore, all recognized that Christians were converting to Islam more often than Muslims were to Christianity and that the "infidels" challenged Europe not only by their sword but by their religious allure.

Both these facts – the higher number of Christian converts and the "allure" of Islam – should be firmly established in the analysis of the discourse between Christians and Muslims in the early modern history of Britain, as it has already been established for France and Italy.[92]

Aware that the attraction of the Ottoman Empire sometimes proved irresistible to their compatriots, Britons tried to undermine this attraction in three areas of writing and activity: theological polemic, drama and evangelism. In the area of evangelism, great momentum was generated in England toward the conversion of Muslims to Protestantism; in the dramatic arts, Robert Daborne, Philip Massinger and others wrote to show the horrible punishment that God had in store for the Christian convert to Islam; in apocalyptic commentary, English and Scottish theologians showed that the Saracen who refused to convert to Christianity would be destroyed at the eschaton. In fiction and exegesis, on stage and in the church, writers challenged the power of Islam.

This challenge, however, revealed the inherent weakness of the English position in regard to Islam. For that position rested not on fact but on

[92] These facts have already been established in French and Italian history: see the valuable studies by Bartolomé and Lucile Bennassar, *Les chrétiens d'Allah, L'histoire extraordinaire des renegats, XVIe–XVIIe siècles* (Paris, 1989); and Gino Benzoni, "Il 'farsi turco', ossia l'ombra del rinnegato," in *Venezia e i Turchi: Scontri e confronti di due civiltà* (Milan: Electa Edittrice, 1985), pp. 91–134. See also the earlier studies on France by Charles Penz, *Les Captifs Français du Maroc au XVIIe Siecle (1577–1699)* (Rabat: Imprimerie Officielle, 1944) and Roger Coindreau, *Les Corsairs de Sale* (Paris, 1948). See the case of Spain, Ellen G. Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Period* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

fabrication, not on achievement but on wishful thinking. While preachers proclaimed to their congregations the imminent conversion of the Muslims to Christianity and the destruction of Islam, they could point to a handful of Muslims only who had turned to Protestantism; while dramatists portrayed to their audiences the divine retribution which awaited the renegade to Islam, actual travel literature recorded the prosperity of the convert in his newly adopted home; while eschatologists anticipated the annihilation of the Saracens in the millennial war between Christ and the "Mahometan" anti-Christ, London alchemists, Rosicrucians and astrologers sought Arabian lore and praised the Arab-Islamic legacy of the *prisca sapientia*. The way that English dramatists, preachers, theologians and others confronted Islam and Muslims was by fabricating images about them – by arranging protagonists and geography in a manner that was disembodied from history and cultural surroundings. In the imaginatively-controlled environments of the theater and the pulpit, Britons converted the unbelievers, punished the renegades, and condemned the Saracens. As long as the sphere of action was fabrication, the victory was won by Christians. Outside that sphere, however, Englishmen and other Britons treated Islam as a powerful civilization which they could neither possess nor ignore.

CHAPTER ONE

"Turning Turke": conversion to Islam in English writings

A year before the Turkey Company's first charter was granted in September 1581, the Ottoman Sultan sent to Queen Elizabeth the terms on which he would permit English traders to conduct commercial activity in his dominions. In *The interpretation of the letters, or privilege of the most mightie and Musumanlike Emperour Zuldan Murad Can, granted at the request of Elizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God* (1580), which was later published by Hakluyt, Sultan Murad III assured the Queen of his cooperation and of the release of all Britons who had been taken prisoners and "detained in captivitie" in Turkey and North Africa. But then, the Sultan added:

> 18 . . . [should Muslims capture and sell a slave] if the partie shalbe found to be English, and shall receive the holy religion, then let him freely be discharged, but if he wil still remaine a Christian, let him then be restored to the Englishmen.[1]

There was an official Ottoman position regarding the status of Englishmen who deserted their faith and became Muslims. The Queen had to concede that some of her subjects would convert to Islam, renounce their allegiance to England and become subjects of the Sultan.

The English commercial initiative to the Ottoman Empire as well as the numerous sixteenth-century continental writings about the "Turks" made Britons realize that many of their seafaring and traveling compatriots were exposed to the danger or allure of Islam. Because there were Christians who succumbed to Islamic temptation and "turned Turke,"[2] English and other writers focused part of their attention on the nature and implications of what they viewed as the most heinous of sins – apostasy.

[1] *The interpretation of the letters* in Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, 8 vols. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1904), vol. v, p. 188.

[2] I am using these words to mean conversion to Islam. But there were other meanings in the seventeenth century, see Warner G. Rice, "'To Turn Turk,'" *Modern Language Notes*, 46 (March, 1931): 153–154. Turk and Muslim were interchangeable terms in seventeenth-century England.

Initially, travelers and travelogue-writers reacted with disbelief at the sight of a fellow countryman or of a European Christian renouncing his faith. In 1585, Frauncis Billerbege did not even want to reflect on the subject: after he mentioned an "expert, famous, and eloquent" friar who had converted to Islam, he discontinued that "greeuous" and "lamentable" matter for fear of distressing his readers.[3] But writers soon found that they had to address the phenomenon of apostasy carefully: that Christians, both native-born to the Ottoman Empire and migrants from England, Scotland and Ireland and from other parts of European Christendom, were converting to Islam was widely evident. "Very voluntarily," wrote John Rawlins in 1622, Christians "renounced their faith, and became Renegadoes; in despite of any counsel which seemed to intercept them."[4] Such conversion raised profoundly disturbing questions about Christian truth. Did the success of Islam in attracting Christians imply that it was a better religion? "Seeing how many daily goe from us to them," wrote Sir Henry Blount in 1636, "and how few of theirs to us; it appeares of what consequence the prosperity of a cause is to draw men unto it."[5] Was Islam a true revelation of God destined to replace Christianity as Christianity, in the eyes of Christians, had replaced the old covenant of Judaism? By examining the conditions and reasons for conversion to Islam, writers hoped to understand the mechanism of conversion and to protect their countrymen from the allure of the Muslims and the power of Islam.

PATTERNS OF CHRISTIAN CONVERSION TO ISLAM

When Sir Anthony Shirley arrived in Antioch on his way to Jerusalem in 1598, he came across "two Janizaries, Hungarish-runnagates."[6] The Spanish word "renegado" – of which "runnugate" was a variant – had first been used in English in 1583 to mean a convert from Christianity to Islam (*OED*): its adoption from Spanish suggests that the first converts were associated in English imagination with Spain. In 1585, Nicholas Nicholay's travelogue was translated into English from French and described Christians who had "Mahumetised": "most of them," he wrote, were "Spaniards, Italians, and of Prouence, of the Ilands and Coastes of the Sea Mediterane":

[3] Frauncis Billerbege, *Straunge Neuves from Constantinople* (1585), B2 r.

[4] John Rawlins, *The Famous and Wonderful Recovery of a Ship of Bristol, called the Exchange, from the Turkish Pirates of Argier* (1622), in *An English Garner: Stuart Tracts, 1603–1693*, ed. C. H. Firth (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1964), p. 255.

[5] Blount, *A Voyage*, p. 113, mispaginated p. 133.

[6] Sir Anthony Sherley, *A briefe Compendium of the Historie of Sir Anthony Sherleys Travels into Persia* in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. VIII, p. 380. In the text, I use the more common spelling, Shirley.

apostasy was not yet associated with Englishmen.[7] By the end of the sixteenth century, however, the word was being used in reference to English as well as other European converts to Islam. Although the word continued to have other meanings,[8] its chief reference within the context of writings about the Muslim dominions was to apostasy from Christianity. In 1599, Richard Hakluyt succinctly stated that a "renegado" is "one that first was a Christian, and afterwards becommeth a Turke" (*OED*). In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, the word "renegado" was nearly always used in its Spanish form, perhaps to emphasize that apostasy was typified by the Papist enemies of England. "Renegate" and "renegade" were not too common, but "runnugate" was frequently used.

Shirley reported how the two converts confided to him that they "had beene Christians, and though they had, for reasons best knowne to themselves, altered that condition; yet they wished well to those which still were so."[9] Like many travelers to the Levant before and after him, Shirley pondered the reason why those men had deserted their religion for Islam: although he did not offer an explanation, other writers who had met Christian converts to Islam examined the conditions of conversion and identified the following categories of converts.

The first, and a category of converts extensively noted in Elizabethan and Jacobean writings, was that of Christian children who were forcibly taken from their parents and raised as Muslims. Every three years, wrote Knolles in his *Generall Historie*, 10,000 to 12,000 children were brought from Europe as part of the tax levied on Christians living within the Turkish-dominated parts of south-eastern Europe, the Balkans.[10] These children did not bear any responsibility for their renunciation of Christianity, and as a result, they were pitied by the travelers. Nicholay lamented the "eternall perdition of their soules" as they changed "from baptisme to

[7] *The Nauigations, peregrinations and voyages, made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay . . . Translated out of the French by T. Washington the younger* (1585), 8r. In the margin, he added: "Manie renied christians in Alger." In *The Acts and Monuments*, John Foxe mentioned frequently the conversion of Christians to Islam: apostasy, however, was associated in his mind with territories under Ottoman rule: "how many thousands and infinite multitudes of christian men and children, in Asia, in Africa, and in Europe, are carried away from Christ's church to Mahomet's religion," *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, with a Life of the Martyrologist*, 8 vols., ed. George Townsend (New York: AMS, 1965, first publ. 1843–1849), vol. IV, p. 101.

[8] See also the application of the term "renegadoe" to a Jew who converted to Christianity: *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1617), p. 244; "renegado" also applied generally to wicked men, "Roarers, Blaspeamers [sic], Sonnes of Belial, Usurious Iewes," Charles FitzGeffry, *Compassion Towards Captives, Chiefly Towards our Bretheren and Country-men who are in miserable bondage in BARBARIE* (Oxford, 1637), p. 35.

[9] Shirley, *A brief Compendium*, in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. VIII, p. 380.

[10] Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes from The first beginning of that Nation to the rising of the Othoman Familie* (2nd edn., 1610), p. 959; Nicholay, *The Nauigations*, maintained that the tax was collected every four years, p. 69r.

circumcision";[11] earlier, the Hungarian writer Bartholomeus Georgievits had noted in his *De Turcarum moribus epitome* (1553), which was translated into English in 1570, how children quickly committed both "Christ to obliuion" and their "parentes and alyes" too.[12] Not surprisingly, writers were more pained at the prospect of those children's growing up to be Muslims than at their separation from their families: the loss of eternal life was more important than the loss of parental love.

Such concern for the children was not a result only of sympathy. A fact well-known among travelers was that those children grew into one of the most fearsome orders within the Turkish army: the Janizzaries (the New Soldiers). That the Janizzaries consisted of men who had originally been Christian could not but appear as ironic to English and Christian observers: the Muslim Turks took Christians and turned them into warriors against other Christians. Furthermore, these Christians-turned-Janizzaries became more ruthless against Christians than were the "naturall Turkes": once "Mahometised," wrote Nicholay, they became "by words as deedes, mortal enemies vnto the Christians, so as they practise nothing els then to doe vnto them all iniuries & wrongs possible."[13]

Having described the plight of those children and what was seen by Christians as their unfortunate militaristic fate, some writers went on to call upon Christian rulers to unite against the Turks and free the innocents. In the absence, however, of military campaigns to liberate those children from Islam, legends were fabricated in popular imagination about children who remained secretly Christian after they had been forced into Islam. John Foxe observed that those children kept "privily about them the gospel written by St. John, *'In principio erat verbum'*, &c. which for a token or remembrance of their christian faith, they carry under their armhole, written in Greek and Arabic."[14] Georgievits had made (and Foxe may have drawn on him) the same observation but had applied it specifically to Greek children: they carried "under their armepittes, as a most sure preseruatiue against euill happes, the Gospell of saint Ihon," and they prayed "to reuenge and deliuer the Christians from their unspeakeable afflictions and painefull persecutions."[15]

[11] Nicholay, *The Navigations*, p. 69r.

[12] Bartholomeus Georgievits, *The Ofspring of the house of Ottomanno, and officers pertaining to the great Turkes Court*, trans. Hugh Goughe (1570), Ji r. For an extensive study of this writer, see chapter 3 in Kenneth M. Setton, *Western Hostility to Islam and Prophecies of Turkish Doom* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1992).

[13] Nicholay, *The Nauigations*, p. 71r; see also *Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratsilaw*, p. 54.

[14] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. IV, p. 87; see also Henry Marsh, *A New Survey of the Turkish Empire History and Government Compleated* (1664, first publ. in 1633), the first part, pp. 166–167.

[15] Georgievits, *The Ofspring*, Ji v–Jii r.

Since children were seen to persevere in their faith, English and other Christian writers turned to put the blame for the captivity of those children-turned-Janizzaries not on the enslavers but on the parents. "The Christians," wrote Edward Grimeston in 1635, translating from Michel Budier's *Histoire generalle du serrail*, "labour so profitably to inlarge the Turkes Empire, as they not only furnish them with occasions, by their wretched diuision, but they also breed them vp men."[16] By the middle of the seventeenth century, however, and under Sultan Murad IV, the practice of *devshirme* (child levy) which had begun in the early fifteenth century was discontinued: in 1638, Murad suspended the levy and turned to fill administrative and military positions not with converted recruits but with Muslim-born Turks. The reason, however, that Paul Rycaut, the English consul in Smyrna between 1667 and 1678, gave for the suspension of this practice reveals the anxiety that he, along with other Christians, felt about conversion to Islam. In *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi 1678* (1679), Rycaut stated that so many Christians were turning "daily to the Profession of Turcism, that there [was] no need of this unnatural addition."[17] For Rycaut, the suspension of the *devshirme* was not a result of an Ottoman policy change, but of the fact that Christians did not need to be coerced into Islam – that Christians were converting to Islam of their own choice. The situation in Crete may have confirmed for Rycaut his view: after the Ottoman victory in 1669, the Orthodox inhabitants welcomed the Turks "as liberators from the oppressive rule of Roman Catholic Italians" and, in succeeding years, "began to undergo conversion to Islam in substantial numbers."[18]

The next category of converts which English writers examined consisted of men who converted to Islam in order to end their slavery. For these men, conversion was a matter of expediency, as William Lithgow observed about Hungarian, Transylvanian and Bohemian captives who believed that by embracing Islam, they would be freed.[19] Many Christian soldiers coming from areas as far apart as Sicily and the British Isles, once captured and enslaved, renounced their faith because it was commonly believed that, while a Muslim master would keep a Christian

[16] *The History of the Serrail, and of the Court of the Grand Seigneur, Emperour of the Turkes . . . Translated out of French by Edward Grimeston* (1635, written in 1626 by Michel Budier, 1589–1645), p. 121. Since the *devshirme* only applied to unmarried males, Christian parents married off their sons very early – but the result was more children being born into Christian families.

[17] Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi 1678* (1679), pp. 22–23; Rycaut had made the same point earlier in his *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1668), p. 80.

[18] Coles, *The Ottoman Impact*, p. 174.

[19] William Lithgow, *A Most Delectable and True Discourse of an admired and painefull peregrination from Scotland to the most famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affricke* (1614), H3 v.

slave indefinitely, he might change his mind about a Christian-turned-Muslim and, in accordance with Qur'anic teaching, might free him. The Qur'an, however, had not forbidden slavery: it had encouraged (but not commanded) Muslims to free enslaved co-religionists (Qur'an 4:36) – a distinction which converts may not have known.

The view that Christian slaves who converted to Islam would be freed was constantly challenged by men who returned from captivity to Christendom without having apostatized. They wrote to warn their compatriots that Muslims did not always free converted slaves. As early as 1570, the advantage of a slave converting to Islam had been contested to the English readers:

> unto such as haue abiured and foresworne our religion, neyther is ther any determinate time of bondage, neyther lawe to be chalenged concerning retorne into their natiue lande, all hope of fredome onely dependeth at their maisters free will and pleasure.[20]

The last words were repeated in the next century: "to such as abjure the Christian Religion," wrote Henry Marsh in 1633 to refute what was still a popular view, "no certain time of bondage is prescribed them, nor right of return; all hopes of their liberty, totally depends upon the Master's pleasure."[21] Three quarters of a century later, Pitts wrote about his long enslavement and confirmed the same view: apostasy was not the road to freedom. "I have known," he stated bitterly since he himself had apostatized but was not freed, "some that have continued Slaves many Years after they have turn'd Turks."[22]

Captives described their experiences of enslavement and pointed either to their perseverance in Christian faith under the most difficult conditions or to their apostasy because of torture. Some wanted to prove that they had been heroic in their faith: others wrote to justify their failure and their subsequent conversion to Islam. Marsh affirmed that even after thirteen years of slavery, and being "miserably and unhumanely treated," he did not turn Turk.[23] A quarter of a century before him, Edward Webbe had prided himself on remaining faithful to his Christian religion: he could have had "wonderfull preferment of the Turke," he wrote in his *Trauailes*, had he submitted to conversion; but he resisted even under torture.[24] Pitts assured

[20] Georgievits, *The Ofspring*, Diii r. [21] Marsh, *A New Survey*, p. 161.

[22] Pitts, *Account*, p. 131. Contrast, however, the statement by E. Veryard in *An Account of Divers Choice Remarks . . Taken in a Journey through the Low-Countries . . . As Also, A Voyage to the Levant* (1701), p. 318 where he argues that Muslims release Christian slaves who convert to Islam, unlike Christians who do not release Muslims who convert to Christianity.

[23] Marsh, *A New Survey*, p. 158.

[24] *Edward Webbe, Chief Master Gunner, His Trauailes. 1590*, ed. Edward Arber (London, 1869), p. 29.

his readers that he had resisted apostasy even when he was made "large offers," and he converted to Islam only after he was coerced.[25] In reporting the Muslims' eagerness to convert them, some writers described their torture in graphic detail, and others added frontispieces to show the extent of their captors' brutality.[26] Such accounts served to inform compatriots about the fearsome world of Islam and to generate anti-Muslim sentiment.

In 1626, 2,000 wives petitioned the King, the Duke of Buckingham and Parliament for help in ransoming their husbands from Muslim captivity and described the "unspeakable tormentes and want of foode" of their spouses who, because of the "want of spirituall foode of their soules" were almost forced to convert from their Christian religion.[27] Description of such violence committed by the Muslims on Christian captives was repeated in travelogues and sermons in order to show the context in which Britons converted to Islam. "Divers of the English Youths," wrote Edmund Cason in 1647, "bee turned Turks, through beating and hard usage."[28] Both in England and New England, writers and preachers repeated stories about Muslim cruelty in order to praise those who had persevered without renouncing their faith. Indeed, Cotton Mather contested the torture–apostasy association and asserted that "the Renegado's for the most part, were those who suffered the least share of Adversity." Preaching in Boston in 1701, Mather stated that apostasy among Christian prisoners was a matter of physical weakness: men who were indolent and were not used to hard work could not endure the suffering of slavery and therefore quickly apostatized. Wholesome, hardworking Englishmen, used to a rugged and persevering life, resisted apostasy and emerged as heroes of their faith.[29] Resisting apostasy was not only a matter of Christian faith but of a physical constitution that was made strong by work: a healthy Protestant faith developed in a healthy Protestant body.

[25] Pitts, *Account*, pp. 138–140.

[26] See for instance the frontispieces of Knight, *A Relation*, and William Okeley, *Eben-Ezer: or, A Small Monument of Great Mercy, Appearing in the Miraculous Deliverance of William Okeley William Adams, John Anthony, John Jephs, John – – – Carpenter* (1676), and the illustration in *Christopher Angell, a Grecian, who tasted of many stripes and torments inflicted by the Turkes for the faith which he had in Christ Iesus* (Oxford, 1617), A4 r. See also the frontispiece of *The History of Algiers and it's Slavery with Many Remarkable Particularities of Africk. Written by the Sieur Emanuel D'Aranda, Sometime a Slave there. Trans. John Davies* (1666, first publ. in French in 1662).

[27] *Les Sources Inédites de L'Histoire du Maroc: Archives et Bibliotheques D'Angleterre*, 3 vols., eds. Pierre de Cenival and Philippe de Cosse Brissac (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1936), vol. III, p. 2.

[28] Edmond Cason, *A Relation of the whole proceedings concerning the Redemption of the CAPTIVES in ARGIER and TUNIS* (1647), p. 11.

[29] Cotton Mather, *The Goodness of God, Celebrated; In Remarkable Instances and Improvements thereof: And more particularly in the Redemption Remarkably obtained for the English captives. Which have been Languishing under the Tragical and the Terrible, and the most Barbarous Cruelties of Barbary* (Boston, 1701), pp. 41–42.

A third category of conversion noted by English writers belongs to the cultural environment. Islamic society, as numerous visitors noted, was powerful and well-knit because it combined religious law with civil life. To live in the Ottoman Empire, particularly in the large urban centers, invariably led to engagement with the traditions, celebrations and feasts of Islam. Native Christians in the Levant, North Africa and Greece, along with visitors who resided there, adopted Muslim dress and habit, and since habit, as seventeenth-century moralists taught, always developed into a second nature, some residents converted because they became accustomed to the values and mores of Muslims. Sir Thomas Shirley warned soon after trade with Turkey began to flourish that "conuersation with infidelles doeth mutch corrupte" and thus the more time Englishmen spent in the lands of Islam, the closer they moved to adopting the manners of the Muslims. "Many wylde youthes of all nationes," he wrote, "as well Englishe as others . . . in euerye 3 yeere that they staye in Turkye they loose one article of theyre faythe."[30] Islam overpowered Englishmen by the force of cultural habit.

In the case of native-born Christians in the Ottoman Empire, a similar explanation applied: whether they were Greeks or Arabs or Armenians, they learned the language of the Turks and dressed in their fashion. Aaron Hill noted in his account how Christians were "ever imitating the Turks, as nearly as they dare[d]" in dressing, eating or sleeping "on Matresses," and Rycaut noted how the Greeks and the Armenians "imitate[d] the Turkish Habit."[31] Islam, of course, tolerated Christians and Jews as constituting religious communities "of the Book": the Qur'an did not allow forced conversion and ordained protection to these communities as long as they paid the special *Jizya* (tax): in 1:256, the Qur'an proscribed religious coercion, and in 28:56 and 109:5,6, it extended God's mercy to believers in other religions. In this respect, Ottoman policy was consistent with this theology and followed Islamic *Shari'a* (law) closely: only in the western Balkans and in Bosnia and Albania did extensive conversions to Islam occur. But in the Levant and North Africa, the Ottomans did not pursue a systematic method of conversion: indeed, and throughout their reigns, Suleyman the Magnificent and his immediate successors showed very little interest in spreading Islam. In 1600, George Manwaring confirmed that "There doth inhabit amongst the Turks many Christians," a view that was repeated at

[30] *Discours of the Turkes by Sr. Thomas Sherley*, ed. E. Denison Ross (London: Camden Miscellany, 1936), p. 11.

[31] Aaron Hill, *A Full and Just Account of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire in all its Branches* (1733, first published 1709), p. 166; Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 82. Rycaut condemned such imitation because he saw in it a sign of Christian subjugation to the Muslims in the same way that the Britons' imitation of the Romans prepared for their domination by the invaders.

the end of the century by the physician Ellis Veryard about Christians being "very numerous throughout all Turky."[32] In Smyrna in the second half of the seventeenth century, there were mosques, synagogues, Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Armenian churches, along with Protestant chapels – demonstrating a religious tolerance that was unparalleled in the cities of western Christendom.[33] Even today, after four hundred years of Ottoman rule of the Middle East, many parts of the former Empire (particularly in the Eastern Mediterranean) have maintained sizeable minorities of Christians.

Renaissance travelers in the Levant confirmed this toleration and reported on the amicable interaction of religious communities and on how Muslims, Jews and Christians shared their festivities with each other. Thomas Coryat observed how often "Spectators were as well Christians as Turkes," and so did Rycaut who could not but praise Muslim toleration of Christians, including Muslim respect for the Christian clergy.[34] Many accounts by captives in North Africa speak of the respect which priests received from their captors, the permission they were granted to celebrate their religious feasts and the presents they were given to decorate their churches.[35] In Smyrna, Turks "often dropped in at Christian churches" while others enjoyed listening to children reciting their catechism.[36] At the end of the seventeenth century, the French traveler Jean Dumont, the Sieur du Mont (1667–1727), noted that Muslims venerated certain Christian saints, and that on a few occasions, "Turks and Christians [joined] together in some Rites of Devotion."[37] At a law court which he visited in Egypt, Veryard saw copies of the "Old and New Testament and an Alcoran" that were used "to swear Jews, Christians, and Mahometans, each according to his Religion."[38] Christians and Jews were established communities within the Muslim Empire.

[32] *Sir Anthony Sherley*, ed. Ross, p. 185; Veryard, *An Account*, p. 318. Thomas Shirley noted that in "Constantinople," there were "5 Christians for one Turke," *Discours*, p. 15. See also *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1617), p. 249.

[33] Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667–1678* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 7.

[34] Thomas Coryat, *Master Coryats Constantinopolitan Observations Abridged* in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. x, pp. 417 and also 434; Rycaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 20. See also Knolles, *Generall Historie*: "They converse with Christians, and Eat and Traffick with them freely; yea sometimes they marry their Daughters, and suffer them to live after their own Religion," p. 962.

[35] Friedman, *Spanish Captives*, pp. 80–90. See also D'Aranda, *The History of Algiers*, pp. 159 ff.

[36] Anderson, *An English Consul*, pp. 8–9.

[37] The Sieur du Mont, *A New Voyage to the Levant: Containing An Account of the most Remarkable Curiosities in Germany, France, Italy, Malta and Turkey; With Historical Observations relating to the Present and Ancient State of those Countries* (1696), p. 191; see also William Biddulph's reference to a church where "both Christians and Turkes pray therein," *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. VIII, p. 284.

[38] Veryard, *An Account*, p. 320.

Such close interaction with the Muslims led some Christians living in the Ottoman Empire to use the Arabic and/or the Turkish language in their idioms and exclamations: indeed, there was a variant of Greek written in Arabic characters by Levantine Christians. As a result, the Muslim habit of repeating the Witness ("There is no deity but God and Mohammad is his Prophet") could not but influence some Christians. Hearing the Witness so frequently from Muslim friends and associates, a Christian might repeat it inadvertently: but the Witness is the only requirement for conversion in Islam; so, if the Christian stated the Witness while in the presence of Muslims, they would promptly consider him converted. And converted he was, "compulsed to renounce his Christian Religion," wrote William Lithgow, unless he was willing to face death.[39]

From this Muslim religio-cultural hegemony over Christians, English writers went on to reflect on the political implications. They noted that Christian subjects (and visitors) in the Ottoman Empire were under an Islamic law administered by a Muslim ruler: by obeying Muslim law and following Muslim custom, however, Christians were granting implicit legitimacy to Islam – since the laws of the Muslim ruler were also the laws of the Qur'an. Such legitimacy was the initial step to conversion. Sir Thomas Shirley was the first to alert his readers to this problem: Englishmen, he stated, who called "the Greate Turke Imperator Regni Musselmanni" were blaspheming, because "Musselman" means believer, and any Christian who acknowledges "a Mahometan to bee a faythefull beliuer doeth confesse himself to bee an infidell."[40] Shirley did not separate between the *de facto* obedience to the Sultan which Christians had to give and the recognition of the Sultan as the Islamic leader of the *Umma* (the religious community): totally oblivious to the consequences that would befall a Christian were he to refuse obedience to the Sultan, Shirley warned that even those Christians who clung to their faith were already being Islamicized by obeying the Sultan. Paul Rycaut looked at the problem from the brighter side: at a time of plague, he stated, the Sultan always ordered the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs "to assemble their People and pray against it."[41] By so doing, Rycaut added, the Sultan recognized the legitimacy of the Christian religion. John Locke, in his *Two Tracts on Government*, disagreed with Rycaut: reflecting on a hypothetical parallel with a Christian commonwealth, he urged that the Christian magistrate should never order his non-Christian subjects to pray for the removal of a calamity. The magistrate had the power, of course, to do that, but he should not because he would give

[39] Lithgow, *A Most Delectable . . . Discourse*, K r. [40] Shirley, *Discours*, p. 15.
[41] Rycaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 21.

Christian legitimacy to a non-Christian religion.[42] Neither Rycaut nor Locke understood how Muslims could accept Christianity as a monotheistic revelation without undermining the divine legitimacy of Islam: neither of them realized that while Islamic dogma condemned certain articles of Christian belief, the Muslim theocracy – both in the Qur'an as well as among the Ottomans – had a protected place for Christians (and Jews).

English writers recognized that Muslims did not force (although they might pressure) Christians to convert: "they compell no man," declared George Sandys in 1610;[43] "the Turke puts none to death for Religion," stated Blount.[44] But the fourth category of conversion related to some harsh Ottoman methods. In their zeal to convert Christians, wrote the author of *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* in 1597, Muslims sometimes resorted to "wicked and detestable" practices, the most frequent of which was to "frame false accusations" against the Christian and charge him with dishonoring the Prophet or "disput[ing] of their law and religion."[45] Since the punishment for such crimes was death, the culprit had only one way of saving himself – conversion. If a Christian struck a Muslim, he faced the same danger and had recourse to the same option.[46] "If you speak ought against their professed Religion, you are forced to Circumcision," wrote Henry Marsh.[47] If a Christian was found in a brothel, of which, wrote Lithgow there were "aboue 40000" in Istanbul, that Christian faced enslavement unless he converted.[48]

Whether these observations about conversion (or brothels) are accurate is far from clear, considering that many writers indulged in fantasy while reporting on Muslim society and religion.[49] Indeed, Muslim conversionist efforts toward Christians (and Jews) varied according to individual sensibilities and geographies: some Muslims, particularly among the embittered

[42] John Locke, *Two Tracts on Government*, ed. and introd. by Philip Abrams (London: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 130.
[43] George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610: Foure bookes* (1615), p. 56.
[44] Blount, *A Voyage*, p. 110; see also p. 112: "there is seldome any compulsion of conscience." See also Rycaut, "thanks be to God, there is a free and publick exercise [of Christianity] thereof allowed in most parts [of the Ottoman Empire], and something of respect given to the Clergy, even by the Mahometans themselves," *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 20.
[45] *The Policy of the Turkish Empire: The first Booke* (1597), 20v, 20r.
[46] *Sir Anthony Sherley*, ed. Ross, p. 185.
[47] Marsh, *A New Survey*, p. 165. The same view had been held by Purchas in his *Pilgrimage* (1617), p. 348 in which he cited Georgievits.
[48] Lithgow, *A Most Delectable . . . Discourse*, L4 r. See also Davies, *True Relation*: "It is very dangerous for a Christian to be found in the company of any Turkes woman, for being found together, he shall be forced to turne Turke, or else be put to death," B2 v.
[49] Abel Pincon, the French traveler who accompanied Manwaring, stated that Shah Abbas kept forty "Anthropophagi and man-eaters" around him: *Sir Anthony Sherley*, ed. Ross, p. 159.

Moriscos of North Africa, were not unwilling to apply both pressure and sometimes force for conversion; but other Muslims scrutinized converts and refused to accept them when they suspected ulterior motives for their adoption of Islam – such as freedom from enslavement. This variation in attitude also depended on the nationality of the potential converts: Muslims admitted native Christians and Jews into the faith quite readily. Indeed, the Turks, wrote Sandys, often presented Eastern Christians with money in order to convert them, and they freed them "from all tribute and taxes."[50] Muslims showed little interest, however, in converting European Christians, especially captives, to Islam. The reason was purely financial: captives could either be ransomed by their co-religionists or exchanged with Muslim prisoners in Christendom or put to hard labor on the galleys, while converts could not: "the Renegadoes," wrote the French captive D'Aranda, "are worth much less then the Christians; for being once turn'd Turks, they are not oblig'd to row as the Christians are."[51] Many Muslims not only discouraged their slaves from converting but forcibly prevented them from doing so. At one time, a group of French captives sought conversion to Islam in the hope of avoiding slavery, but they were allowed by Sultan Suleyman II to convert to Judaism instead – since as Jews they could remain slaves until redeemed by fellow co-religionists.[52] While some Muslims were persistent in their desire to convert Christian captives, others preferred to profit from their ransoms.[53]

What may have helped the Muslims in converting numerous Britons and European Christians to Islam was, as in the case of native Christians,

[50] Sandys, *A Relation*, p. 56; see for similar action on the part of Christians to convert the Muslims, James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels: The Church and the non-Christian World, 1250–1550* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), p. 103. Muslims, however, always desired conversion from among the native Christians or Jews to be an act of conviction. An interesting episode is recorded by a Carmelite priest about a Jew in Basra (Iraq) in 1683: a Jew admitted that he was a "Muslim" but when he was taken before the Judge, he stated that he was a Muslim in the sense of being resigned to God (which is what the word Muslim means) from within Judaism and not in the sense of subscribing to Islam. A legal document was produced for the Jew in which this clarification was stated: "If the Jew or the Christian says I am Muslim and says I have submitted to Islam ["aslamt"] he is not a Muslim because they [Jews and Christians] say that a Muslim is he who is led by truth and resigned [to God] If he says I am a Muslim, he is [to be] asked if he meant I want to renounce the religion of Christianity or Judaism and enter the religion of Islam. Then he is a Muslim" (my translation): *Chronicle of Events Between the Years of (1623 and 1733) relating to the Settlement of the Order of Carmelites in Mesopotamia*, trans. Hermann Gollancz (Oxford University Press: London, 1927), pp. 80–81.

[51] Emanuel D'Aranda, *The History of Algiers*, p. 173.

[52] Blount, *A Voyage*, p. 111. See also the account about Suleyman's rejection of the conversion of "many thousand Christians"; in John Trapp, *A Commentary or Exposition upon all the Epistles and the Revelation of John the Divine* (1647), p. 679.

[53] D'Aranda reported how a master beat his slave who had converted to Islam in order to make him return to Christianity, *The History of Algiers*, p. 174. See also Pitts who reports that when a slave owner suspects that his Christian slave is about to convert to Islam, he sells him: *Account*, p. 130.

the ignorance among Christians of their own articles of faith. The Ottomans, wrote Blount, impoverished the native Christians, appropriated their churches and deprived them of religious education.[54] This depletion of Christianity's intellectual vitality was the most effective way of winning over converts; Rycaut noted that the Turk enfeebled the Christians educationally in order "to draw Proselytes and strength to his own Kingdom."[55] Aaron Hill added that each year the Christians in the Ottoman Empire became "more ignorant than the foregoing" generations, as a result of which they were easily drawn away "to a profession of the Turkish faith."[56] Similarly, the chief reason for apostasy among Englishmen (both captive and free), wrote Pitts, was the fact that they were not properly brought up in Christian instruction: many "poor ignorant Souls which have turn'd Mahommetans, would never have done what they did, had they been Catechized as they ought."[57] Britons had to be better prepared doctrinally for confrontation with Islam. In his sermon celebrating the return of an English renegade to Christianity in 1638, William Gouge urged religious instruction for all travelers in the Mediterranean. The only way in which Englishmen and other Britons could resist apostasy was to be secure in their creed: a Christian "well rooted and grounded in the Articles of his faith, will sooner have his limbes pull'd one from another, and his body and soule severed, then drawne from his faith."[58] If the Turks were to be blamed for succeeding in converting Christians, the Christians were equally to be blamed for not fortifying themselves against Muslim religious and cultural efforts.

Christian conversion to Islam was not difficult. "Lord," wrote Francis Knight after seeing "innumerable" Christians convert to Islam during his seven years of slavery in Algiers, "how facile doe these professe the new Religion, priding themselves in Turkish ceremonies, and in a faith once execrable unto them." He was shocked at the smoothness of the transition and at the total absence of shame or fear. Neither the threat of future retribution nor the renunciation of their history and salvation brought to the renegades any sense of anxiety or guilt. "Had they but the grace of a common woman, who with unloosing her Pettycoate looseth shame, but

[54] Blount, *A Voyage*, p. 110. [55] Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 82.

[56] Hill, *A Full and Just Account*, p. 167. [57] Pitts, *Account*, A2 v.

[58] William Gouge, *A Recovery from Apostasy, Set out in a Sermon Preached in Stepny Church neere London at the receiving of a Penitent Renegado* (1639), p. 58. As early as Martin Luther, the argument was made that theological ignorance was the cause of Christian willingness to convert to Islam, see "On War against the Turk" (1529) in *The Works of Martin Luther*, 8 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1982), vol. v, p. 93. See also Edward Leigh, *The Gentlemans Guide, in Three Discourses. First of Travel, or a Guide for Travelers into Foreign Parts* (1680), p. 5.

recovering it takes it up againe: there might be hopes for them";[59] but there was no shame in the renegades, nor was there in them a Christian commitment unto death. Indeed, while few Christians were willing to lay down their lives for the religion of Christ, numerous others were willing to renounce Christ and live, whereas, to the pride of English writers, Protestants had laid down their lives for their faith in the England and Wales of Queen Mary. Only in rare cases did Christians in the Ottoman Empire choose martyrdom over apostasy: each year, "some one or other [suffers] martirdome for the faith of Christ, but many more for feare of death do change their religion, and deny their faith."[60] To English writers who had been nurtured on the glorious martyrs in Foxe's popular tome,[61] the renegade was the coward who deserved dire judgment: he was the unheroic Christian unwilling to imitate Christ.

BRITISH CONVERTS TO ISLAM

The above four categories constitute the templates which sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English, Scottish and continental writers used to explain the motives of Christian conversion to Islam. Significantly, the evidence about actual British converts to Islam in government documents and other sources confirms these categories. The following survey of British converts to Islam will show the extent of conversion in the period under study.

The first English convert to Islam whose name survives in an English source, *The voyage made to Tripolis* (1583), was a servant, "a son of a yeoman of our Queen's Guard . . . His name was John Nelson."[62] Henceforth in travel literature, converts always appear, especially when ordered by their captors to convert their compatriots to Islam, as was the case with Nelson. In the mid-1580s, and as a result of tensions with Spain and the subsequent decline of trade with Germany, English ships ventured into the Mediterranean to compete for Venetian and Turkish trade: "divers ships" were captured by North African pirates and "divers" sailors were "forced to turn Turk."[63] In April 1585, William Harborne, the first English ambassador in Istanbul, wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham, the Queen's Secretary,

[59] Knight, *A Relation*, p. 2. [60] *The Policy*, 20r.

[61] See the extensive study of Foxe's impact in William Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London: J. Cape, 1963).

[62] Thomas Sanders, *The voyage made to Tripolis in Barbarie, in the yeere 1583. with a ship called the Jesus, wherein the adventures and distresses of some Englishmen are truly reported, and other necessary circumstances observed* in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. v, p. 305.

[63] *Tudor Economic Documents*, ed. R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power (London: Longmans, 1924), vol. II, p. 77.

about "Hassan, King of Argier 'his renegate,' taking our ships":[64] this reference to an English renegade in high office recalls "le caid Xafer, renégat anglais" who had been mentioned by Diego de Haedo in 1581.[65] In 1591, John Sanderson visited Istanbul and observed that "many Englishmen old and young, have in my remembrance turned Turkes, as Benjamin Bishop, George Butler, John Ambrose, and others."[66] H. R. mentioned in 1593 in *Newes from the Levane Seas* an "Englishman turned Turke, in some favour with the king" of Algiers.[67] When Thomas Dallam went to Istanbul in 1599 with a gift of a musical organ to the Sultan from the Levant Company, he met in Algiers with a large number of "Renied cristians . . . moste are Spanyardes, Italians, and other Ilands adjoyninge"; later, in Istanbul, he met a Muslim who was "a Cornishe man borne."[68] In that same year, one Albert Trew, an English renegade, was captured by a Venetian ship, and in 1609, George Wilkins described an Englishman who "forsooke Christ to follow Mahomet; And from a Christian turned Moore."[69] Sir Henry Middleton referred in 1612 to "the Youth of Mr. Pemberton's" who had converted to Islam, and Lithgow mentioned an "English Runagate named Wolson" whom he met in Crete; and it was an Englishman who became the famous corsair "Chafar" in 1630.[70]

Sometime after 1610, forty-six Britons who had converted to Islam were captured at sea,[71] while in November 1616, it was reported to the East India Company that a servant had "capitulated his soul to the devil by turning accursed Mahometan."[72] In 1619, the author of *Relations of the Christianitie of Africa, and especially of Barbarie and Algier* (published by Purchas) noted that between 1609 and 1619, the highest number of renegades came from lower Germany (857 renegades), followed by 300 from England.[73] In

[64] *C.S.P. Foreign, Elizabeth, August 1584 – August 1585*, vol. XIX, p. 441; Coindreau, *Les Corsairs*, p. 81.

[65] Bennassar, *Les Chrétiens d'Allah*, p. 368.

[66] Philip Gosse, *Histoire de la piraterie*, trans. Teillac Payot (Paris, 1933), p. 66; John Sanderson, *A Discourse of the most notable things of the famous Citie Constantinople: both in ancient and late time* in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. IX, p. 427n.

[67] *Newes from the Levane Seas* in *Illustrations of Old English Literature*, ed. J. Payne Collier (New York: Benjamin Bloom, 1866, rep. 1966), p. 21.

[68] *The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599–1600* in *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, ed. J. Theodore Bent (New York: Burt Franklin, 1893), pp. 14–15, 79.

[69] Bennassar, *Les Chrétiens d'Allah*, p. 178; George Wilkins, *Three Miseries of Barbary: Plague. Famine. Ciuill warre* (1609), B2 r.

[70] *An Account of the Captivity of Sir Henry Middleton By the Turks at Moka, or Mokha* in Jean de Laroque, *A Voyage to Arabia Foelix through the Eastern Ocean and the streights of the Red-Sea, being the first made by the French in the years 1708, 1709, and 1710* (1732), pp. 272–273; Lithgow, *Rare Adventures*, p. 65; Roger Coindreau, *Les Corsairs*, p. 81.

[71] Bennassar, *Les Chretiens d'Allah*, p. 178.

[72] *C.S.P. Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1516* (London, 1862), p. 480.

[73] *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. IX, p. 281.

1622, Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador in Istanbul, reported that two Englishmen had converted to Islam "by force and frailty."[74] In that same year, John Rawlins included in his *The Famous and Wonderful Recovery of a Ship of Bristol* a reference to "above a hundred handsome youths compelled to turn Turks; all English"; and to "John Goodale, an English Turk"; Henry Chandler, a chandler's son in Southwark, who had adopted the name of "Rammetham Rise" (Rais); Richard Clarke who had changed his name to Jafar; George Cooke who had become "Ramedam"; John Browne who had become "Memme"; and William Winter who had become "Mustapha."[75] A year earlier, in 1621, William Ezer, twelve years old, had been captured by the Barbary Corsairs and converted to Islam; in 1622, Thomas Herb, nine years old, was captured in the English Channel, and in 1623, Andrew Williams, seven years old, was captured too: none of these children returned to England.[76] In May 1625, there was a report of "Englishe and Flemmishe runnegadoes," and in 1626, Francis Barnes/Barney, the pilot of a Tunisian ship, and Robin Locar of Plymouth (who had changed his name to Brahen [Ibrahim] and was known as the "English Mammi") were captured by the Spaniards: each had been a "Rais" (corsair captain) among the Algerians; in 1630, John Harrison reported about "an English renegado" in Sali and in 1631 about a "ronagado of Dartmouth."[77]

Writing about the Moroccan ruler Abdel Malek in 1633, Harrison mentioned that the latter had caused "some English boyes perforce to turne Moores"; Harrison later added that Abdel Malek's successor had forcibly converted eight Englishmen to Islam.[78] In 1635, two Scotsmen were captured by Spaniards on a Turkish vessel and were detained because they were "renegadoes"; a year later, two "Turkish" pirates, "Mahomet and Hamet," who were captured by the English Navy, reported that they had "sailed a Sallee ship with 5 renegadoes, one of whom was English."[79] In 1638, Robert Blake brought on his ship "three renegados" and later met an "Irish renegado" who was captain of a "Salley" ship.[80] In 1641, Emanuel

[74] *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 36.

[75] John Rawlins, *The Famous and Wonderful Recovery*, in Firth, *An English Garner*, pp. 254, 256, 274. There were other English converts whom Rawlins alluded to as "English Renegadoes" and "English and Dutch Turks."

[76] Bennassar, *Les Chrétiens d'Allah*, p. 180. See also Bennassar's reference to four English renegades who were born in Bristol, p. 180.

[77] *Les Sources Inedites de L'Histoire du Maroc. Archives et Bibliothèques D'Angleterre*, 3 vols., ed. H. De Castries (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1925), vol. II, p. 563; Bennassar, *Les Chrétiens d'Allah*, p. 183; *Les Sources Inedites de L'Histoire du Maroc: Archives et Bibliothèques D'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 120 and p. 164.

[78] John Harrison, *The Tragicall Life and Death of Muley Abdala Melek* (Delph, 1633), pp. 13, 18.

[79] *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I*, vol. VII, p. 480; *Ibid.*, vol. X, p. 141.

[80] *Les Sources Inédites de L'Histoire du Maroc: Archives et Bibliothèques D'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 500 and 503.

D'Aranda referred to an "Englishman, but a Renegado" who was among the Algerian pirates that captured him, and later he made one of the rare references in English sources to a "Turkish woman" who was "an English woman."[81] During his captivity in Algiers, William Okeley referred to an "English-man turn'd a Renegado,"[82] and in 1643, John Talla, an English renegade, who was known by his Muslim name, "Soliman," was captured by the Spaniards.[83] In September 1645, seven pirate ships from Barbary landed in Cornwall and were led inland "by some renegade of the country."[84] In February 1651, a report submitted by the ruler of Rabat mentioned the English renegade Richard Pensal and two Irishmen "Jean Jouffre" and "Pieter Mores";[85] in 1655, mention was made of "Soliman-Rais . . . un renegat natif d'Irlande" who was a captain in Algiers.[86] In *The Adventures of (Mr. T.S.)*, published in 1670 (but describing his captivity in the late 1640s), there is mention of "English Renegadoes" and of a renegade "Cornish man."[87]

In the Restoration period, Charles II sent Captain Hamilton to ransom some Englishmen who had been enslaved in the Barbary Coast. The captain was unsuccessful in his mission because the men had converted to Islam and did not wish to return to England. "They are tempted to forsake their God for the love of Turkish women who are generally very beautiful," he wrote.[88] In 1669, Sir Thomas Allin was ordered by the King to try and capture English renegades from among the Turks, and in November of that same year, a resident in Fez alluded to an English convert "that had been in the Country."[89] After describing apostasy among the Christians in Greece, Rycaut recalled the "poor English men, who have fondly and vilely denyed the faith of Christ in Barbary and the parts of Turky, and become, as we term them, Renegados."[90] In August 1670, Sir Edward Sprigg, admiral of the Mediterranean fleet, referred to "one Brown, an

[81] D'Aranda, *The History of Algiers*, pp. 5, 19.

[82] Okeley, *Eben-Ezer*, p. 32.

[83] Bennassar, *Les Chrétiens d'Allah*, p. 183.

[84] *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts . . . Venice, 1643–47*, vol. XXVII, p. 209.

[85] Le Comte Henry De Castries, *Les Sources Inedites de L'Histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845*, 6 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1913), vol. V, p. 256.

[86] *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 230.

[87] *The Adventures of (Mr. T. S.) An English Merchant, Taken Prisoner by the Turks of Argiers and carried into the Inland Countries of Africa* (1670), pp. 15–17. The text was prepared for publication by A. Roberts.

[88] Quoted in John B. Wolf, *The Barbary Coast: Algeria Under the Turks: 1500 to 1830* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979), p. 237.

[89] *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles II, 1669*, vol. IX, p. 385: "and if he [Allin] takes any renegadoes from the Turks, he is to reserve those that are English for further orders, and dispose of those of other nations to the hands of their respective princes, reclaiming from them all English renegadoes that shall fall into their hands"; *A Letter from a Gentleman of the Lord Ambassador Howard's Retinue to his Friend in London: Dated at FEZ Nov. 1. 1669* (1670), p. 16.

[90] Rycaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*, pp. 289–290.

English renegado" who was sailing with the Turks:[91] in January 1672, John Luke described how "Browne, the English renegade" docked in Tangier for supplies.[92] In 1681, Thomas Baker, the English Consul in Tripoli, referred to "Hassan Agha; Who before his voluntary Turning Turk was named Edward Fountaine of a good Family in Norffolk as hee pretends." Later in the year, he recorded "Hezekiah Ware and – – – – – of London Mariners aboard the Charles, Peter Wall Comander, about a yeare since in the Port of Alexandria volontarily Turning Turks (which is noe uncommon accident to our drunken hard-headed Sailors)."[93]

An interesting example of an English renegade who achieved wealth and station is James Rowland. The little that is known about him appeared in A *Letter from Tangier* (1682) which described him as a renegade living in Tangier.[94] When he had converted to Islam is not indicated, but his conversion had not prevented him from keeping his English wife with him. Whether she too converted is unknown, although her desire to return to England after her husband's death – and the fact that permission was granted for her to do so – suggests that she had not. Islam, of course, permits a Christian or a Jewish wife to keep her faith.

Whether Rowland was the "Renegado English man" who accompanied the Moroccan ambassador Mohammad bin Hadu during the latter's visit to England in 1682 is not clear.[95] Evelyn noted on January 11, 1682 that the ambassador was said to be the son of an English woman, while his assistant was a renegade (although he may not have been Rowland, but Hamet Lucas, a Moor). In his autobiography, Pitts mentioned an "Irish Renegado" who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca and an Englishmen by the name of James Grey who converted to Islam and became so well-versed in Islamic lore that he became "a Zealot."[96] In 1692, Francis Brooks stated that there were 340 Englishman held captive by the Algerian ruler and that 700 Christians had converted to Islam earlier.[97] At the end of the century, John Locke received news from New England about the capture of James Gillam who had "serv'd the Mogul, turn'd Mahometan and was

[91] *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles II, 1670*, vol. x, p. 374.
[92] *Tangier at High Tide: The Journal of John Luke, 1670–1673*, ed. Helen Andrews Kaufman (Paris: Librairie Minard, 1958), p. 91.
[93] *Piracy and Diplomacy in Seventeenth-Century North Africa*, ed. C. R. Pennell (London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1989), pp. 129 and 133.
[94] William Franklin, *A Letter from Tangier Concerning the Death of James Rowland the Renegade* (1682).
[95] *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols., ed. E. S. De Beer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), vol. IV, pp. 265–266.
[96] Pitts, *Account*, pp. 112, 157–159.
[97] Francis Brooks, *Barbarian Cruelty. Being A True History of the Distressed Condition of the Christian Captives under the Tyranny of Mully Ishmael Emperor of Morocco, and King of Fez and Macqueness in Barbary* (1693), pp. 48, 58, 55.

Circumcis'd."[98] In the eighteenth century, John Windus, historian of a mission sent by George I to ransom English captives in Morocco, reported that there were 1,100 Christian slaves there, of whom 300 were English, and of those, nineteen had "turned Moors."[99] Thomas Pellow wrote an account about his captivity and conversion which included reference to the Moorish king's executioner – a renegade Englishman, a former butcher from Exeter called "Absalom" (Abd-es-Salam).[100]

Although some of the above conversions are described as having been effected by force, there is an important point that must be noted here about captives and converts: many Britons returned to England after years of enslavement among the Muslims *without* having renounced their Christianity. With the exception of children, it was possible for an English man or woman to live among the Muslims and refuse to convert – refuse either to submit to intimidation or to surrender to allure. Although Muslims were relentless in trying to "possess" Christians by conversion, and although sometimes they did use force, a truly unwilling Christian could turn Islam down. An Algerian captor "earnestly persuaded me to turn Moor," wrote Richard Hasleton in 1593 describing his experience ten years earlier;[101] in 1625, Robert Adams, captive in Sali, described in a letter to his parents the horrendous conditions he lived in and then added how he was beaten daily in order to force him to convert or expedite the payment of ransom – but he resisted.[102] "[O]ne old Turke came & earnestly exhorted me to become a Musselman," wrote John Sanderson during his visit to Istanbul.[103] "I have been askt my self," wrote Thomas Smith, "in the Portico of Sancta Sophia, why will you not turn Musulman, and be as one of us?"[104] These and many other invitations or pressures to convert show that Britons could turn Islam down – whether they were slaves like Hasleton and Adams or free like the latter two. There was always a choice in conversion: the lists of redeemed captives that were published in England in the seventeenth century not only assured relatives of the well-being of their captured kin, but they proved to English society that captives did not

[98] *The Correspondence of John Locke*, 8 vols., ed. E. S. de Beer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976–1989), vol. VI, p. 736.
[99] John Windus, *A Journey to Mequinez: The Residence of the Present Emperor of Fez and Morocco* (1725), p. 195.
[100] *The Adventures of Thomas Pellow*, p. 103.
[101] *The Miserable Captivity of Richard Hasleton, born at Braintree in Essex* (1593) in *An English Garner: Voyages and Travels mainly during the 16th and 17th Centuries*, 2 vols., ed. C. Raymond Beazley (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, rep. 1964), vol. II, p. 172; see also p. 173.
[102] SP 71/12/f. 107. [103] *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. IX, p. 466n.
[104] Thomas Smith, *Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks. Together with A Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia, As they now lye in their Ruines: And A Brief Description of Constantinople* (1678, first publ. in Latin in 1674), p. 32.

always convert to Islam – and that those who converted had not necessarily done so because of enslavement or intimidation.

Indeed, Edward Kellet insisted in 1628 that many Englishmen converted to Islam after yielding to Muslim "allurements, rather than to their violence," to the "baites and allurements of immunitie present, and prosperity promised," to "their alluring Promises."[105] Christians, agreed Paul Rycaut, turned to Islam because of its attractions: "the imaginary honour and priviledge of a Turk" directed an "abundance of Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and all Nations" to Islam.[106] Others converted to Islam because they preferred it to their own religion.[107] Many a Christian, wrote the author of *The Policy*, "is by his owne choyce and voluntarie motion . . . circumcised" – and this, he noted, happened "often."[108] A century later, Joseph Pitts confirmed that such conversion was still taking place: "Many there are that do so turn [to Islam] out of Choice, without any Terrour or Severity shewn them."[109] Both Pitts and other writers used "voluntary" to describe Christian conversion to Islam: Blount referred to the "voluntary Renegadoes" and so too did John Rawlins and Bartholomeus Georgievits.[110] In the treaty between England and Tripoli in 1676, Sir John Narborough, who negotiated on behalf of King Charles II, included the following article:

> That no Subject of the King of Great Britain, & c. shall be permitted to turn Turk or Moor in the City and Kingdom of Tripoli, being induced thereunto by any surprizal whatsoever, unless he voluntarily appear before the Dey or Governour with the English Consuls Druggerman three times in twenty four hours space, and every time declare his resolution to turn Turk or Moor.[111]

Conversion to Islam had been so easy that it was necessary for Narborough to make it hard on his compatriots. Rycaut observed that some converts

[105] Edward Kellet, *A Returne from Argier. A Sermon Preached at Minhead in the County of Somerset the 16. of March, 1627. at there admission of a relapsed Christian into our Church* (1628), pp. 31, 34, 39.

[106] Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 80.

[107] The most notable case – although not of a Briton – was the Armenian Patriarch in Persia about whom Sir John Chardin reported. He had been a learned scholar, had read the writings of "Avicenne and other Arabian Philosophers, and some of the Mahometan Controvertists" and had not been able to refute their arguments against Christianity. As a result, and to the horror and confusion of his flock, he converted: *Sir John Chardin's Travels in Persia . . . Adorn'd and Illustrated with a great Number of Cutts . . . by Edm. Lloyd Esq.*, 2 vols. (1720), vol. II, p. 141. The journey was undertaken between 1673–1677.

[108] *The Policy*, p. 24. [109] Pitts, *Account*, p. 140.

[110] Blount, *A Voyage*, p. 112; Rawlins, *The Famous and Wonderful Recovery* in *Firth, An English Garner*, p. 255. See also Joseph Grelot, *A Late Voyage to Constantinople: Containing An exact Description of the Propontis and Hellespont, with the Dardanels, and what else is remarkable in those Seas; as also of the City of Constantinople . . . Made English by J. Philips* (1683), p. 177: "The second [kind of converts] are those who voluntarily change their Religion."

[111] *Articles of Peace & Commerce Betuxen the most Serene and Mighty Prince Charles II . . . And The most Illustrious Lords, Halil Bashaw, Ibraim Dey, Aga, Divan, and Governours of the Noble City and Kingdom of Tripoli in Barbary* (1676), p. 16.

"become really Turks, and some through custom and their own lusts, are really perswaded of the truth of this profession."[112] It was difficult for Rycaut and Rawlins (who also mentioned "lust") to admit that Christian conversion to Islam did not always stem from "lusts" or "error."

Indeed, such was sometimes the desire of Christians to convert to Islam that force was used by their co-religionists to stop them. In January 1681, Thomas Baker wrote in his diary the following account about an Englishman:

> William – – – – – Gunner of ye Francis & Benjamin Pink about noone went into ye Castle, & presenting himselfe before the Dey Declared that hee was come to Turne Turk, and severall tymes uttered the usuall Words Whereby such Villaines are admitted into that accursed Superstition.

Baker was not willing to condone apostasy from an Englishman and upon hearing the news, went "into the Castle and Took him Rogue as is, and Wilbee, doubtlesse."[113] Coercion was necessary to prevent Christians from freely converting to Islam. For an English sailor like "William," the domain of Islam was not the "Present Terrour of the World": on the contrary, it seemed to him to be the domain of opportunity and desire.

Unfortunately, no account has survived by an early modern Briton who chose freely to convert to Islam and to remain in the Muslim Empire because such a convert never returned to his home in order to publish his work.[114] What have survived are accounts by enslaved men who either resisted conversion or, like Joseph Pitts, converted and then reconverted to Christianity upon their return to England. Pitts's account, the first in

[112] Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 80. See also Smith who describes in *Remarks* the renegades as "wallowing in brutality, that they may enjoy their lusts more freely," p. 114.

[113] In Pennell, ed., *Piracy and Diplomacy*, p. 126. Another way by which Christians, particularly those who were native to the Ottoman Empire, were forced against conversion was the tattoo. Rycaut noted that Christians among the Muslims marked their new-born children with the Cross, using "the juyce of a certain herb, the stain of which never wears out," *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 83. The effect of this practice, which continued into the twentieth century in various parts of the former Ottoman Empire (Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and Iraq) was to prevent the person from converting because the tattoo was etched on a visible part of the face, arm or hand. The Christian religion was to become part of the Christian body. Interestingly, when English travelers accompanying Fynes Moryson tattooed "the signe of the Crosse with inke and a pen-knife upon their armes, so as the print was never to bee taken out," Moryson refused to do the same on the ground that he was journeying through "many Kingdomes": *An Itinerary containing his Ten Yeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turky, France, England, Scotland & Ireland*, 4 vols. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1907), vol. II, p. 41. The travelogue first appeared in 1596.

[114] In *The Scourge of Christendom: Annals of British Relations with Algiers Prior to the French Conquest* (London, 1884), R. L. Playfair mentions an account by one John Robson of his captivity which "has been preserved at Algiers, the only contemporary record of Christian slavery that is known to exist there," p. 135. I was unable to locate a copy of this text.

English of a convert to Islam, along with other captivity accounts by non-converts, sheds light on the social background and status of the "renegades." Converts to Islam nearly always came from the lower social ranks – the sailor, the ship's cook, the cabin boy, the trader, the fisherman, and the soldier – although there were occasions where men of status also converted: a member of the English gentry was rumored to have converted to Islam and joined the pirate Ward, while Benjamin Bishop, who had been mentioned by Sanderson, had been appointed consul in Egypt in 1606 after which he converted to Islam and disappeared from public records. More numerous, however, were the "runnugates" who came from among the poor and the disenfranchized.[115] As Sir Thomas Roe noted in 1626, the greatest number of ships lost and of captives taken belonged to the "westerne and poore fishermen" who had to buy their "manumission at the price of their soules."[116] But converts also hailed from the big cities of England, Scotland and Ireland and took to sea out of financial need.[117] Once captured by the Muslims, some of them converted because, as Sir Godfrey Fisher has explained, at the beginning of the early modern period, "Seamen, whose condition was little better than slavery, sought redress from numerous injustices in changing their allegiance or their religion, sometimes whole crews at a time."[118] Conversion to Islam was not necessarily a result of personal wickedness or immorality on the part of the convert; it was, as Roe and others admitted, a result of poverty, displacement, powerlessness and desire.

Christians also converted because they were dazzled by the power and promise which informed their daily exchanges with the Muslims. If a traveler like Blount could admire the Turks for "their glorious actions in the world" and if his king could view the "Gran Signior" as the "greatest Monarch in the World,"[119] it would have been strange indeed if the English commoner was not even more awed by the empire of the Turks and tempted, as Blount had been invited to do but modestly refused, to join it. A cabin boy, wrote Thomas Sanders, "understanding that whosoever would turne Turke should be well enterteined of the kings sonne, this boy did runne a shoare, and voluntarily turned Turke."[120] What exactly this boy believed would be the advantages for him of conversion is never stated: still, he deserted his history and community for a new culture and a new promise.

This boy and other "small" men interacted with Muslims either because

[115] See Kamen, *The Iron Century*, p. 399. [116] *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 573.
[117] Kamen, *The Iron Century*, pp. 390 ff. [118] Fisher, *Barbary Legend*, pp. 156–157.
[119] Blount, *A Voyage*, p. 15.
[120] Sanders, *The voyage made to Tripolis in Barbarie*, in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. v, pp. 304–305.

trading with Muslims was their only means of livelihood or because they had been captured by Muslims: they had few other choices. They were not sent on royal missions with royal protection nor were they curious wanderers who chose to explore the realms of Islam fully assured of their place in their home community. These poor and underprivileged Britons who converted and settled among the Muslims have survived only in name: nothing can be learned about George Cooke or any of the "fifteen circumcised English runnugates" whom Lithgow met in Tunis.[121] In England, they had been too insignificant for any kind of attention: in the Muslim Empire, the young English men who converted to Islam, wrote Cason, were transported by the Turks "to Alexandria, and other parts to the Eastwards" – after which there are no more references to them.[122] These men were integrated into Muslim society and started new lives – with new names. For in the Muslim Empire, there was a great "degree of social mobility; nowhere [in Christendom] were so few questions asked about one's past. And few places held out such hopes for a prosperous and adventurous life . . . No wonder that many free men came voluntarily to Barbary with the firm intention of going over to Islam"[123] – and subsequently disappearing from English records.

Among the Muslims, there was no discrimination based on the social or ethnic origin of the convert. Whether a man came from England or Ireland, was a native-born Muslim or a convert from Christianity (or Judaism), he could rise to a position of power, irrespective of his race or lineage. The egalitarianism of opportunity in the Muslim Empire was well-known in England; lists of Turkish and Janizzari leaders that appeared in English publications often included reference to their renegade status (as the last page of Francis Knight's account showed). In the late seventeenth century, fourteen "beys" or "rais" in North Africa were known to be of Christian origin. Interestingly, such converts who attained power were admired in England as can be seen in the reception given in September 1637 to the Moroccan Ambassador Alkaid Jaurar bin Abdella during his London visit. The report that was published about the visit praised the "estate & high dignity of the Ambassador" and described the tremendous "expression of Love and Welcome" that was shown the visitor both at court and in the city.[124] The ambassador was also praised for his religion: "he is devoute and zealous in those wayes and Rules of Religion wherein hee hath beene brought up . . . Hee is courteous, bountifull, charitable, valiant, and a

[121] Lithgow, *Rare Adventures*, p. 202. [122] Cason, *A Relation*, p. 11. [123] Earle, *Corsairs*, pp. 92–93.
[124] *The Arrivall and Intertainements of the Embassador, Alkaid Jaurar Ben Abdella, with his Associate, Mr. Robert Blake* (1637), pp. 6, 8.

severe punisher of any enormities, as Drunkennesse, or any prophanesse in his House."[125]

There could be no greater encomium by a Christian to a Muslim than for the latter to be praised for living by the teachings of his religion. What is striking about this praise, however, is the fact that Alkaid, we are briefly told at the outset of the published report, was not a native-born Muslim but a Portuguese convert. No mention was made about the heinousness of his apostasy; rather, the ambassador was repeatedly praised for his pious character and for his cultural accomplishments: he spoke "the Spanish, Italian, and Arabian Tongues; and in a word, for Humanity, Morality, and Generosity, hee is a most accomplish'd Gentleman." For the author of the report, the Muslim ambassador – renegade (and eunuch) that he was – was the Renaissance man who conveyed a magnificent portrait of his country and religious culture.[126]

Some captives, wrote the French traveler Joseph Grelot, whose *A Late Voyage to Constantinople* appeared in English in 1683, "after they have had their liberty given them, and coming home into Europe, and not finding there what they expected, have return'd back of their own accord to a more pleasing Servitude" among the Turks.[127] Other slaves who spent a long time among the Muslims learned Arabic and Turkish, and as bilinguals served as translators – and were often used by the Muslims for converting captured co-nationals.[128] As early as the 1590s, Britons were thriving in this role of translator: one such renegade "that was sente with us to be our drugaman, or interpreater," wrote Thomas Dallam, "was an Inglishe man, borne in Chorlaye in Lancashier; his name Finche. He was also in religion a perfit Turke."[129]

Christians joined the Muslims although they knew that they might find themselves working and fighting against their former co-religionists and compatriots. Not only did that prospect not deter them, but they so adopted the ideology of their new culture that they became committed to its propagation and to Christendom's defeat. The renegades became Muslim in their religion and political allegiance, and they used their military skills to help the Turks against their former co-religionists. The Turks acquired through the converts Christian-European technology which proved effective on the battlefield and at sea.[130] It was "Renied crisians" who captured Christians, wrote Thomas Dallam, "which they sell unto the

[125] *Ibid.*, p. 32. [126] *Ibid.* [127] Grelot, *A Late Voyage*, p. 177.
[128] Kellet, *A Retorne from Argier*, p. 34. [129] *The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam*, p. 84.
[130] "The Turks have acquired through the renegades all the Christian superiorities," wrote Philippe de Canaye in 1573, quoted in Clissold, *The Barbary Slaves*, p. 98. See also Earle, *Corsairs*, chapter 4.

Moors and other marchantes of Barbarie for slaves."[131] It was renegades like "Ward a poore English sailer, and Dansker a Dutchman . . . [who] first taught the Moores to be men of warre" – a view that was recalled for decades after Ward's death.[132] Renegades were betraying Christians and undermining the security of Christendom, but nothing could be done against them. For Islam protected them as subjects and raised some of them from humiliation to authority and, in the case of the "English Renegado" whom "T. S." met in Algiers, from poverty to riches.[133]

The conversion of a Briton to Islam in the Muslim dominions removed him from the authority of English law. In 1673, a young Englishman robbed his partner, who had kept gold for several merchants in London, and then, in order to avoid prosecution by English expatriots in Istanbul, converted to Islam. By so doing, he sheltered himself under Muslim law, which did not accept the witness of a non-Muslim against a Muslim. Although he was finally convinced to return to England and to Christianity, there was fear in English circles that such episodes might recur.[134] As a result, in 1679, the English ambassador in Istanbul, Sir John Finch, added new articles to the capitulations between England and the High Porte in order to reduce the damage of such conversions:

> An Englishman turning Mahometan, and having Goods, or Estate in his hands belonging to his English Principals, those goods or Estate shall be delivered into the hands of the Embassador, or Consul, that they may convey, and make them good to the true Owners.[135]

Apostasy was so easy that legislation had to be introduced in order to intercept the apostates.

All the above conversions of Britons occurred in the Muslim dominions. But were there Britons who converted to Islam and remained in England? Unfortunately, no precise answer can be given to this question since no

[131] *The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam*, p. 15. See also the reference to the Neapolitans who "Pilated the Turks to the place where they were borne, and [are] instruments in the captivating of their owne fathers and mothers and all their Lineage": Knight, *A Relation*, p. 18. Although the image of the renegade as a traitor is predominant in English writings, the ambassador De Busbecq had noted a benevolent (albeit financially rewarding) activity of the Italian renegades: they disguised themselves as relatives of captives and bought the freedom of their compatriots, *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin De Busbecq, Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople, 1554–1562*, trans. Edward Seymour Forster (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 157.
[132] *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine Iohn Smith, In Europe, Asia, Affrica, and America, from Anno Domini 1593. to 1629.* (1630), p. 59. It was "one Ward an Englishman," learned Samuel Pepys in 1683, "that first brought in the use of the bowline at Algiers": *The Tangier Papers of Samuel Pepys*, p. 116.
[133] *The Adventures of (Mr. T.S.)*, p. 60.
[134] G. F. Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople* (London: Macmillan, 1920), pp. 29–30.
[135] *The Capitulations and Articles of Peace between the Majesty of the King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. and the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire* (1679), p. 38.

"renegade" would have dared vaunt his apostasy to "Mahometanism" among his home community. Still, there are numerous statements in this period which shed an intriguing light on this possibility. In the preface to the 1649 translation of the Qur'an by Alexander Ross (about which more in chapter 3), the Scottish writer had to allay the fear of his readers that his "Alcoran" could prove attractive enough to win converts in England: "It may happily startle thee, to finde him [Mahomet] so to speak English, as if he had made some Conquest on the Nation, but thou wilt soon reject that fear."[136] Ross continued by reassuring his readers that there were no converts among "orthodox" Christians. But the Royalist exile, Sir Peter Killigrew, warned that the translation of "Alcoran" could convert the Cromwellian "rebels" whose actions had "much in common" with "Turkish manners": for him, the availability of "Alcoran" dangerously coincided with the beginning of a new political order in England – and possibly of converts to a new religion.[137] Three years later, in the preface to *The Confusion of Muhamed's Sect*, Joshua Notstock wrote reassuringly that "there is no feare that the Alchoran in English should do hurt to any of our Nation." Still, he continued, "it is not amiss, that that [the Qur'an] being put into our tongue, this discourse should follow it, which is a Strong, Rational, and cleare Eviction of its wickednesse."[138] The refutation of "Alcoran" was necessary, just in case somebody might be tempted to consider Islam as a replacement of Christianity – which in the eyes of defeated and exiled Royalists, such as Ross and Killigrew, was quite possible.

Indeed, eight years before the appearance of Ross's translation of "Alcoran," a sect of "Mahometans" had been discovered "here in London," along with twenty-eight other "Divelish and Damnable" sects:

> This sect is led along with a certaine foolish beliefe of Mahomet, which professed himselfe to be a Prophet, and this was his manner of deceiving: He taught a pigeon to pecke a pease from forth his eare, bearing the ignorant in hand that the Holy Ghost brought him newes from Heaven.[139]

This description does not provide any information about the sect, if a sect community there was at all. What is significant about the reference, however, is that "Mahometanism" was being treated by the author as a (false) religion in England and not just overseas. Furthermore, by placing Islam "here in London," was the 1641 author alluding to conversions to Islam in the metropolis or perhaps to "renegades" who had returned to England but had not undergone reconversion? William Erbery, the Welsh millenarian (1604–1654), was accused of preaching the "Turkish Alcoran" in the early 1650s. He rejected the accusation, but he wondered: "If Christians, with us, turn to be Turks, why may not Turks turn to be Christians?"[140] The importance of this statement lies in the words "with us": that Christians in the Levant and North Africa did "turn Turke" was well known: did Erbery have in mind English, or for that matter Welsh, men who had converted to Islam in the British Isles? A few decades later, Islam was treated by "R. D." as an Eastern religion which had expanded beyond its Levantine borders and was attracting converts within European Christendom in the same way as the Family of Love and the Anabaptists were.[141] Islam was in, and perhaps of, western Christendom.

The only reference to the conversion of an Englishman to Islam in England occurs in a play: *Knavery in all Trades: or, The Coffee-House. A Comedy* (1664). As a satire on the subculture of coffee-houses in London, the play does not provide reliable evidence on conversion; its purpose was to undermine Turkish coffee and to praise English ale. Still, there is the following allusion:

> fourth: What do you hear of Ludlow?
> third. Nothing but mum.
> second. Here's none but friends, good sir what is't?
> third. He is turn'd Turk – – – pray pardon me,
> I speak but as I've heard.
> . . .
> that sort of Christian makes an excellent Turk.[142]

"Ludlow" was a jibe at Edmund Ludlow (1617?–1692), the regicide apologist for the Cromwellian regime and the author of *A Voyce from the Watch Tower* (1658). But Ludlow did not convert to Islam. The passage therefore shows how the convert to Islam was seen to be a hypocritical Christian – as

136 Alexander Ross, *The Alcoran of Mahomet, Translated out of Arabique into French; By the Sieur Du Ryer, Lord of Malezair, and Resident for the King of France, at Alexandria* (1649), A2 r, A3 r.

137 Quoted in Roger B. Merriman, *Six Contemporaneous Revolutions* (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1963, first publ. 1938), p. 94.

138 Johannes Andreas, *The Confusion of Muhamed's Sect. Or A Confutation of the Turkish Alcoran, trans. Joshua Notstock* (1652), C3 v.

139 *Discovery of 29 Sects, here in London all of which, except the first are most Divelish and Damnable, being these which follow* (1641), p. 4.

140 *The Testimony of William Erbery left upon record for the Saints of suceeding* [sic] *ages* (1658), p. 333. Erbery replied to the accusations in March 1652 and stated that he had never read "the Turkish Alkaron."

141 R.D., *The Strange and Prodigious Religions, Customs, and Manners, of Sundry Nations*, p. 62; see also Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Holbrook Jackson (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1977), part iii, p. 298. Calvert noted that Christian heresies conspired "in divers points of Religion with the very Turkish Alcoran," *The blessed Jew of Marocco: or, A Blackmoor made White* (1648), p. 220.

142 *Knavery in all Trades: Or the Coffee-House. A Comedy. As it was Acted in the Christmas Holidays by several Apprentices With great Applause* (1664), E2 r–v.

Cromwellian supporters were seen in the Restoration period – while the secrecy enjoined about the news of his conversion attests to the shamefulness of a deed that was not, however, in the opinion of the speakers, unprecedented.

What makes the search for possible English converts to Islam in England more complicated is the imprecision with which the term "Mahometan" was used. It referred not only to Muslims but sometimes to the Christian who did not believe in the Trinity and was therefore suspected of leaning toward Islam. "If any Christians turne Mahometans," wrote Thomas Calvert in his translation/elaboration of a rabbi's statement of conversion to Christianity, "they begin with Arianisme, and Socinianisme, and then Turcisme is not so strange a thing."[143] Such an association between Unitarianism and Islam was common in this period: in 1650, Francis Cheynell, who had harassed Chillingworth for his "Socinianism" on his deathbed, denounced the Racovian Catechism as a "Racovian Alcoran";[144] and in 1698, the Anglican preacher Robert South referred to an anti-Trinitarian as a "Mahometan Christian."[145] Evidently, those who ventured into anti-Trinitarian theologies were viewed as crypto-Muslims: as a result, orthodox theologians started seeing Muslims wherever they saw Unitarians.[146]

A high number of Christians and Britons was reported in English writings to have converted to Islam. Throughout the period under study, conversion to Islam was described as a predicate of Muslim power: whether the power of forcing children or enslaving sailors, of extending cultural and religious hegemony or of alluring the "small" men of Christendom with employment opportunities and with promises of a better life. Converts therefore were not necessarily all "bands of ruffianly renegades" as Samuel Chew derisively called them:[147] while there were felons and pirates, there were also sailors and carpenters, cabin boys and gunners and other Britons who realized that while their own society had neither place nor employment for them, the Ottoman Empire offered them opportunities for settlement, advancement and power. Both in the Ottoman Empire and in Morocco, Britons had the chance of joining a powerful empire and par-

[143] Calvert, *The blessed Jew*, p. 221

[144] Francis Cheynell, *The Divine Trinunity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit* (1650), p. 422.

[145] Robert South, *Sermons Preached Upon Several Occasions*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1859), vol. II, p. 70.

[146] See for a discussion of the Islamic–Socinian link, David A. Pailin, *Attitudes to Other Religions*, chapter 6 and the selections from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts.

[147] Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, p. 346.

taking of the "prosperous Successe of the Turks."[148] This is how an English convert described his condition to Robert Blake in 1638:

> The 23th, I, [Blake] understanding that the English renegado formerly mentioned was come from the Gualadia into Saphia, went ashoare to heare what he would say concerning his religion, where I fownd him very indifferent, sayeing unto me in private that he would willinglie goe for his country, but to others that he wondered that I should trouble myselfe about him and that he lived well enough where he was. However, I caused him to be called before the Alcaydes and myselfe, where being asked his name gave it in accordeing to that which the Mores had given him, denieing that given him in Baptisme, and desired that he might returne from whence he came.[149]

There was allure in the world of Islam.

[148] See my "Renaissance England and the 'Prosperous Successe of the Turks'," in *Rethinking Cultural Encounter: The Diversity of English Experience, 1550–1700*, ed. Paul A. S. Harvey (University of Massachusetts Press), forthcoming.

[149] *Les Sources Inédites de L'Histoire du Maroc: Archives et Bibliotheques D'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 501.

CHAPTER TWO

The renegade on stage and in church

The power of the "Turks" was brought home to English society by the descriptions of, and numerous references to, the "renegade." Although travelers, captives and chroniclers always made a point of denigrating the convert for renouncing his religion and country, they confirmed that renegades lived in prosperity and wealth: indeed, the over-all portrait of the renegade in their writings is of one who had met with success. There are very few renegades who appear in travelogues, chronicles or state papers who are destroyed by guilt or by the heinousness of their apostasy; neither are there allusions to renegades who never succeeded among the Muslims – who never attained the social or economic security that may have motivated their conversion. While the travelers and captives did not (and indeed would not) praise the converts, they could not but accurately state that converts did rise to positions which they might not have attained in Christendom.

Travelers who wrote accounts of their journeys, along with the numerous seamen who orally described the renegades (and spun tales about them) informed the public, for instance, that in Tunis and Tripoli (in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries), the highest offices were exclusively available to Christian converts to Islam and to other non-Moors. No wonder that the English renegade pirates Samson and Edward became legendary for their luxurious lives in Algiers, and numerous songs celebrated the pirate and renegade John Ward well into the Caroline and the Restoration periods.[1] While such celebration suggests an acceptance of the renegade, the "normal" dealings with renegades confirm it: when English diplomats or traders interacted with converted compatriots in the Muslim Empire, they neither berated them for their apostasy nor

[1] Wolf, *The Barbary Coast*, p. 147. For the importance of "renegade" seamen as Barbary captains, see Earle, *Corsairs*, p. 35 and Wolf, *The Barbary Coast*, chapter 8. See also Philip Massinger's *The Vnnatural Combat* (c. 1622–1624) where Malfort Junior is a convert to Islam and the captain of the Algerian fleet: *The Plays and Poems of Philip Massinger*, 5 vols., eds. Philip Edwards and Colin Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), vol. II, pp. 181–272.

denounced them for their lust or hypocrisy. Sir George Carteret had nothing negative to say about the English renegade he met in Safi (Morocco) in 1638:

> Munday the 25 [of June, 1638] there came down from Moroco Alcayd Ally Martine, an English renegado wth Horses, Tents, and all other provision for Mr. Blake's goeinge upp.
>
> ...
>
> The 28 they toke their Jorney upp togeither by Alcayd Ally Martine . . .
>
> ...
>
> The 19th [of July] Mr. Blake came downe, and wth him Alcayd Ally Martine, the same that fetcht him up.[2]

For Carteret, Ally Martine was a Muslim associate with whom he had to work. That "Ally" hailed from England but had converted to Islam did not interfere with the course of business.

In such a context of acceptance of the "renegado," it was left to playwrights and poets to challenge this portrait and to convey to English society the futility and despair of apostasy. Particularly in the Elizabethan and the Jacobean periods, when the figure of the renegade was still new and intriguing, dramatists and hack writers presented to their audiences a fabricated portrait of renegades which ridiculed and misrepresented their conditions. They provided English society with assurance that God would punish the prosperous renegade while extending psychological relief from what travelers and preachers repeatedly portrayed as the terror of the evangelizing Turks.

From the Elizabethan period on, playwrights depicted the renegade as a type of generic evil: they did not see him as a person forced into his apostasy under duress, nor did they examine in their dramas the socially underprivileged Briton who had no alternative to prosperity except through conversion, nor the Christian who simply preferred Qur'anic to Biblical theology. All the renegades of literature were men who freely converted to Islam because of their inherent and debased morality: all of them openly sought the evil lure of the "infidel." In this respect, dramatists borrowed from theologians the moral horror of the renegade, but they fabricated the fate of the renegade: they used all the poetic effects at their command to portray the harsh price which the Christian would pay for deserting his religion and submitting to Islam. They invented renegades who either met with grim retribution or who underwent spiritual suffering that resulted in their return to Christianity. On stage, they uniformly punished the renegade for his apostasy or converted him back to his original faith – so much

[2] Sir George Carteret, *The Barbary Voyage of 1638*, ed. Boies Penrose (Philadelphia: 1929), pp. 22–23.

so that there is not a single play or poem about an English convert who lives happily ever after as a Muslim. Such a portrayal would have been dangerous to the theater audience of London: a happy convert to Islam would constitute further evidence of Islam's "successe."

The renegade of drama was thus as much an invention of the English imagination as the Machiavellian malefactor, the Faustian atheist or the Moor. He was a type representing the new villain in England's conflict with the anti-Christ: as the Machiavellian villain embodied all that Protestant Englishmen feared in Catholicism; as the Faustian atheist represented the Mephistophelians of the new science; as the Moor represented all that was "oriental" and alien to England, so did the renegade represent the internal evil that threatened Christendom. Indeed, what was speciously dangerous about the renegade was that he was no swarthy Moor or contorted Papist or necromancer but a common English or Irish or Welsh man who willfully renounced God and monarch and "turned Turke." No wonder that dramatists were at pains to punish him, even if by so doing they sacrificed truth.

THE "RENEGADE" IN ENGLISH DRAMA

The first dramatic presentation of the Christian convert to Islam appears in Thomas Kyd's *The Tragedye of Solyman and Perseda* in 1588.[3] Basilisco renounces Christianity because, as he declares, the Turks, unlike the Christians, recognize his "desert and excellence" as a soldier (4.2.10). Although he converts to Islam in order to win the love of a woman – a theme that will recur in English literature to explain the apostasy of Christian men to Islam – Basilisco is also deserting Christendom because, like many other Christian soldiers then, he finds himself better paid and treated in the armies of Islam than in his own society.

Kyd wanted to criticize the poor conditions of soldiers in England, but he also wanted to denigrate those soldiers who served the Muslims and converted to Islam. He therefore presented in the play a description of the ritual of circumcision in mocking terms: "They lopt a collop of my tendrest member" (4.2.23). He also presented Basilisco as the dramatic type of the "braggart knight" whose misunderstanding of Muslim custom and conversion ritual makes him look stupid: "they set me on a milke white Asse, / Compassing me with goodly ceremonies. / That day, me thought, I sat in Pompeyes Chaire" (4.2.26–28). By creating the figure of Basilisco the

[3] *The Tragedye of Solyman and Perseda* in *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, ed. Frederick S. Boas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967, first publ. 1901), pp. 161–231.

renegade, Kyd established for English drama some of the set images that would later appear in all renegades: conversion out of sexual desire, circumcision described in crude terms and the immorality of the renegade both before and after his deed.

The next portrait of a renegade appears in Thomas Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West* (1604–1610). Here the image of the renegade, Clem, is taken a step further: the renegade is not circumcised but castrated to become chief eunuch of the North African king.[4] The audience is not made to pity his plight but to laugh at the condition of those who venture among the Turks thinking that they would find reward and sexual license. In John Mason's *The Turke* (1607), another eunuch appears, but he is Italian not English; and in Philip Massinger's play *The Renegadoe* (1624), there is an English eunuch "Carazie" who is the personal slave of the Muslim queen.[5] In Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, the eunuch became a stage type, serving the purpose of entertaining Britons while defining for them Muslim society in terms of castration and physical violence.

This portrayal of the English eunuch may have originated in an Englishman who had actually been made a eunuch: "Assan Aga, Eunuch & Treasurer to Hassan Bassa king of Alger, which Assan Aga was the sonne of Fran. Rowlie of Bristow merchant, taken in the Swalow." Although not much is known about "Assan Aga" (Samson Rowlie), he was, as Harborne indicated in the letter he addressed to him, a eunuch who had become so powerful that the English ambassador had to appeal to him for assistance in effecting the release of English captives. In a picture that has survived of him, Hassan appears languid and assured of his career in the Ottoman administration.[6] That is why, perhaps, Harborne addressed him humbly, and strangely, also addressed him as if he were still a Christian with allegiance to England. Like other travelers and diplomats, Harborne viewed the renegade 'normally': he neither denounced nor chided him (it would have been, of course, unwise to do so), but it is noteworthy that he was at pains to assure Hassan that, in English eyes, he was still seen as a faithful subject of the Queen. In real encounters with renegades, even with eunuchs, as Harborne's letter shows, there was restraint: on stage, however, the English eunuch was invariably turned into an object of ridicule and bawdy humor.

Until the first decade of the seventeenth century, there was still no

[4] Thomas Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West, Parts I and II*, ed. Robert K. Turner, Jr. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967).

[5] *John Mason's The Turke*, ed. Joseph Q. Adams, Jr. (Louvain: A. Uystpruyst, 1913), pp. 1–72; *The Plays and Poems of Philip Massinger*, vol. II, pp. 1–96.

[6] Hakluyt, *Navigations*, vol. V, pp. 282–283. For the picture of Hassan Agha, see the reproduction in Susan Skilliter, *Life in Istanbul, 1588* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1977), fig. 8.

English literary or psychological portrait of the man who renounced his religion for the Turks. But the renegade – specifically the renegade from England – was becoming a familiar figure through accounts of travelers and through warnings presented to the Privy Council that unransomed Britons on the Barbary Coast were converting to Islam. In 1612, the first full examination of the figure of the renegade appeared in Robert Daborne's *A Christian turn'd Turke, or The Tragicall Liues and Deaths of the two Famous Pyrates, Ward and Danisker*.[7] Daborne, who later in his life left the theater for the Church, stated in his "Prologue" that his purpose in this play was to go beyond his contemporaries' denunciation of John Ward the pirate, to Ward who had more heinously "turn'd Turke." Daborne underscored this motif because English society had not reacted as negatively to Ward's sin of apostasy as he thought they should: indeed, the popular ballads and biographies describing Ward the pirate had made no reference at all to his adoption of Islam. In the play, Daborne showed Ward's punishment for committing piracy against his compatriots and, more importantly, for apostasy to Islam: "What heretofore set others pennes aworke," he stated in the prologue, "Was Ward turn'd Pyrate, ours is Ward turn'd Turke."

In order to magnify the evil of Ward's apostasy, Daborne needed a model of evil that was unparalleled in notoriety and at the same time familiar to the English audience. And no better example presented itself to him than Christopher Marlowe's *The Tragicall History of Dr. Faustus*, which had been written twenty years earlier. Marlowe's play had not linked Faustus to the Turk: rather, it had turned to confront England's more immediate and dangerous enemy – Catholicism. Thus, Faustus used the Catholic liturgy in his incantations, and he spent a few scenes taunting the Pope and his cardinals. The link between Faustus and the Turk was made two years after Marlowe's play: the English public had grown fascinated by the evil of the doctor, as a result of which a non-dramatic sequel was published. In 1594, *The Second Report of Doctor Iohn Faustus* appeared in London and showed Faustus joining in the anti-Christian exploits of the Muslim "Souldan."[8] Through Faustus, the link between the evil necromancer and the Turk was made.

Daborne's choice of Faustus as a model for Ward shows a development

[7] See the edition of the play and a survey of the sources, by A. E. H. Swaen, *Anglia: Zeitschrift fur Englische Philologie* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1898), Band XX, 20 (1898): 188–256. See also a discussion of the play in Jacob Lopez Cardozo, *The Contemporary Jew in Elizabethan Drama* (New York: Ktav, 1969, first publ. 1925), pp. 156 ff., and Sha'ban, "The Mohammedan World," chapter 3.

[8] *The Second Report of Doctor Iohn Faustus. Containing His Apparances, and the deeds of Wagner* (1594), esp. chapters 12 and 13.

in the view toward converts to Islam in England: in 1592, Faustus sold his soul to the devil; in 1594, he and the Turk joined forces; in 1612, Ward sold his soul to the Turk. A transition had taken place from evil as embodied in the devil and his necromancing followers to evil represented by the formidable Turk. Both the devil and Faustus were models of evil in English eyes: by the Jacobean period, however, the "bloody" Turk was more fearsome than witty Mephistopholis, and the Muslim became the embodiment of the anti-Christ. As John Ford succinctly put it in his 1613 poem *Christes Bloodie Sweat*: mankind in sin is "Bound by that Turke the Deuill."[9] The devil was no longer a wily creature dressed like a friar, as he had appeared in *Dr. Faustus*, but the Satanic Turk.

The climax of Daborne's play is reached when Ward actually undergoes the Islamic conversion rite in order to win the love of Voada, a Muslim woman. The "triviall ceremonies" of Ward's conversion are presented on stage in a "dumbe shew," which to the London audience must have been both dazzling and horrifying. Again, Daborne recalled the scene in *Dr. Faustus* when, after signing the deed with the devil, the doctor watched a show of the deadly sins which awaited him. And as Faustus had willfully rejected the help of the good angel, so did Ward reject the plea of Christian Ferdinand:

> Leaue but this path damnation guides you to (1234).

Ward refused, just as Faustus had done:

> . . . [L]et those can hope a pardon care
> To atone with heaven, I cannot, I dispaire (1245–1246).

Ward remained resolute in his decision and underwent the ceremony of "turning Turke."

The "dumbe" ceremony began with the entry of flag carriers, followed by the "Muffty," his "Priests" and then two knights:

> After them Ward on an Asse, in his Christian habite, bare-headed. The two Knights, with low reuerence, ascend, whisper the Muffty in the eare, draw their swords, and pull him off the Asse. He layd on his belly, the Tables (by two inferiour Priests) offered him, he lifts his hand up, subscribes, is brought to his seate by the Muffty, who puts on his Turban and Roab, girds his sword . . . offers him a cuppe of wine by the hands of a Christian: Hee spurnes at him, and throwes away the Cuppe, is mounted on the Asse (1268–1278).

The ceremony ended, as one of the captains put it, when Ward "Turke[d]

[9] *Christes Bloodie Sweat, or the sonne of God in his Agonie* (1613), p. 16. The association between the Turk and the devil had long before been anticipated by John Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments*: "Satan, the prince of this world, goeth with the Turks," vol. IV, p. 19. See also "the devill Turke," in John Day, William Rowley and George Wilkins, *The Trauailes of The three English Brothers*, ed. Sha'ban, p. 236.

to the Circumcision" (1298). Later, the Jewish merchant Rabshake joked about Ward's ordeal: "[P]oore fellow, how hee lookes since Mahomet had the handling of him? hee hath had a sore night" (1573–1574).

Travelers who had witnessed such conversions in the Ottoman Empire denounced its spiritual heinousness and graphically gloated over its physical goriness. They castigated the converts but elaborated on the procession which preceded the public confession of faith: there was revulsion at apostasy but writers realized that both the theater audiences in London as well as the general reading public derived perverse pleasure from the account. In his *Generall Historie*, Knolles carefully described the conversion rite,[10] and in 1610, the traveler George Sandys wrote an account of the procession of Christians toward Islam:

> [W]e saw a sort of Christians, some of them halfe earth already, crooked with age, & trembling with palsies; who by the throwing away of their bonnets, and lifting vp of their forefingers, did proffer themselves to become Mahometans. A sight full of horror and trouble, to see those desperate wretches that had professed Christ al their life, and had suffered no doubt for his sake much contumely and oppression: now almost dying, to forsake their Redeemer.[11]

The description of the conversion rite by Daborne revealed that Ward, like Faustus, had freely and willfully chosen to renounce his faith. Writers emphasized to their readers that Muslims distinguished in the degree of their celebrations between the Christian who converted to Islam out of conviction and another who did so in order to save his life or to remove a debt. As early as 1570, the English public learned that if a Christian converted for the latter purpose, he was not honored by the Muslims: in *The Ofspring of the house of Ottomanno*, the "Bishoppe of the Grecian religion" converted, but there was "no thing geuen unto him" because he had converted to Islam to avoid punishment for blaspheming the Prophet.[12] If a person converted because he had killed a Muslim, wrote the translator of *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* in 1597, he was neither entertained in a procession nor was he honored with gifts, which, as in the case of Ward, were customary

[10] Knolles, *Generall Historie*, p. 961.

[11] Sandys, *A Relation*, p. 56. Sandys's *Relation* was so popular that it went through more than a dozen editions in the seventeenth century, including two translations into German. Thomas Coryat attended a Jewish circumcision in Istanbul and remembered what Christian converts had to undergo. Circumcision was painful, he noted, especially for those of ripe years,

> "(as it too often commeth to passe, that Christians which turne Turkes) as at fortie or fiftie yeeres of age, doe suffer great paine for the space of a moneth," *Master Coryat's Constantinopolitan Observations Abridged* in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. x, p. 428.

See also Blount, *A Voyage*, pp. 111–112 and Davies, *Trve Relation*, B3 v.

[12] Georgievits, *The Ofspring*, Dii v.

when a Christian converted to Islam "by his owne choyce, and voluntarie motion."[13] The ceremonial pomp which was accorded Ward on his conversion proved that he had deserted Christianity under no duress.

Daborne draped Ward in evil because he wanted to show the consequences of apostasy. There was no redeeming quality in Ward, and much like Faustus in Marlowe's play, the renegade pirate met with a violent and fully deserved death – torn to pieces and thrown into the sea. This conclusion, however, was pure fabrication on the part of Daborne: as the play was being performed on the London stage, the real Ward was flourishing in Tunis without undergoing divine or human punishment for his apostasy. "Ward lived like a Bashaw in Barbary," wrote captain John Smith,[14] and when William Lithgow visited Ward in 1615, he provided an eyewitness account in which he marveled at Ward's wealth. Ward's palace, he wrote, was "beautified with rich Marble and Alabaster stones,"[15] and Ward's wealth was celebrated in London songs:

> At Tunis in Barbary,
> Now he buildeth stately,
> a gallant Palace, and Royal place,
> Decked with delights most trim.[16]

Daborne deliberately presented a fabricated portrait of Ward because his play, like other Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, reached a wide audience and "served the function of modern newspapers" in telling people about the life and hoped-for punishment of men like Ward.[17] That he ended his play with this fabricated episode shows the apprehension which prevailed in the English imagination about Britons who converted to Islam and remorselessly renounced their king and country: "[W]at is one Island," Ward declared about the England which he had lost by his apostasy, "Compared to the Easterne Monarchy?" (1149–1150). Ward was widely known in England to have attained power and wealth as a Muslim, and "the rumors of Ward's riches" were so attractive that they captured the imagination of adventurers.[18] Indeed, reports from the Barbary Coast included the name of Sir Francis Verney as having joined Ward and "turned Turke"; after Verney's death in 1615, his Muslim clothes which consisted of a richly embroidered hat and cloak were brought back to

[13] *The Policy*, pp. 24 r–v.

[14] John Smith, *The True Travels*, p. 59.

[15] Lithgow, *Rare Adventures*, p. 315, quoted in Chew, *The Crescent*, p. 361.

[16] "The Seamans song of Captain Ward, the famous Pyrate of the World, and an English man born," in Daborne, *Anglia*, p. 182. There were also hostile songs, see *Adventures by Sea of Edward Coxere*, ed. E. H. W. Meyerstein (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 84.

[17] Louis Wann, "The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama," *Modern Philology*, 12 (1915), 169.

[18] Quoted from the report of the Venetian envoy in Chew, *The Crescent*, p. 352.

England to be preserved by his family.[19] Many Britons believed that apostasy paid off handsomely: no wonder that Daborne had to punish Ward at the end of the play. Indeed, the fact that Daborne wrote his play about an English not a continental renegade shows how concerned he was about the apostasy of Britons to Islam.

On stage, Islam had to be defeated, and those who converted to it had to be destroyed. Daborne knew that little could be realistically done about Ward or any other Englishmen who converted to Islam: what was possible was to inject fear about the consequences of apostasy. The English public would be made to see the divine retribution for rejecting Christianity. With similar intent, the author of a pamphlet on Ward's piracy, *Nevves from Sea* (1609), had included a frontispiece showing Ward and Danseker hanging from the mast of a ship – an act of pure fabrication since Ward died over a decade later of the plague.[20] The poet Samuel Rowlands ended a short poem on Ward with a warning that God would certainly punish the renegade. Like Daborne, Rowlands associated the act of apostasy with the Faustian turning to Satan, and he warned that God would eternally damn the renegade:

> Gods fearefull Iudgements (villaine) are at hand.
> Deuills attend, Hell fier is prepar'd:
> Perpetuall flames is reprobates Re-warde.[21]

For both Rowlands and Daborne, as also for Thomas Dekker, who included Ward among those to be damned in hell (he was, however, more accurate than Daborne and did not prematurely kill Ward), the renegade was similar to the Faustian atheist in being a formidable villain who deserved eternal punishment.[22]

Over a decade later, Philip Massinger drew on Spanish and English

[19] His nineteenth-century biographer tried to refute the charge that Verney had converted to Islam: Frances Parthenope Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family During the Civil War*, 4 vols. (London: Longmans, 1892), vol. 1, pp. 63–68.

[20] *Nevves from Sea, Of two notorious Pyrats Ward the Englishman and Danseker the Dutchman* (1609); see also Andrew Barker, *A Trve and Certaine Report of the Beginning, Proceedings, Ouerthrowes, and now present Estate of Captaine Ward and Danseker, the two late famous Pirates: from their first setting foorth to this present time* (1609).

[21] "To a Reprobate Pirat that hath renounced Christ and is turn'd Turke," in *The Complete Works of Samuel Rowlands: 1598–1628*, 3 vols. (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, New York, first publ. 1880), vol. II, p. 9. When "T.G." (Thomas Gainsford) wrote his account of a Dutchman who had become a powerful "Renegado Bashaw" in 1618, he showed the latter terrified at the knowledge that God would save the Christian, the Jew and the Muslim, but not the apostate: *The Glory of England, or a Trve Description of many excellent prerogatiues and remarkeable blessings, whereby She Triumpheth ouer all the Nations of the World* (1618), pp. 188–190.

[22] Thomas Dekker, *If this be not a good Play, The Diuell is in it* (1612) in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, 4 vols., ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953–61), vol. III, p. 204 : 5.4.90 ff. The play was written in 1610.

sources to dramatize the story of a Venetian renegade. The story allowed Massinger to show not the punishment of a renegade, as with Daborne, but the reconversion of the renegade. *The Renegado, A TragaeComedie* was written in 1624 and was a popular play on the London stage.[23] In it, Massinger explored the non-"Tragical" fate of the renegade: while Daborne had shown the renegade's horrid death, Massinger dramatized the renegade's return to Christ; while Daborne frightened his audience away from Islam, Massinger showed that same London audience Christianity's victory over Islam. And as Daborne had sacrificed truth, so did Massinger.

The play is set in Tunis with Muslims and Catholic Italians as the chief protagonists. In order to link the action to England, Massinger introduced Carazie who had been "borne in England" (1.2.22) and who was the eunuch slave of Donusa, niece of Sultan Amurath. But the renegade after whom the play is named is Antonio Grimaldy. Like Ward, after he "turn'd Pirat" (4.1.16) he converted to Islam and grew to hate Christianity so much that he once snatched the Eucharist from a priest during Mass and "Dash'd it vpon the pauement" (4.1.33). Later in the play, Grimaldy repented and confessed his horrible sin, again in words that recalled Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*:

> Looke vpward
> I dare not, for should it but be beleeu'd,
> That I (dide deepe in hells most horrid colours,)
> Should dare to hope for mercy, it would leaue
> No checke or feeling, in men innocent
> To catch at sinnes the diuell nere taught mankind yet.
> No, I must downeward, downeward: though repentance
> Could borrow all the glorious wings of grace,
> My mountainous waight of sins, would cracke their pinions,
> And sincke them to hell with me (3.2.63–72).

Unlike Faustus, however, Grimaldy renounced Islam, begged forgiveness from the priest and returned to Christianity.

Massinger presented a happy ending for this renegade. He showed how Grimaldy returned to his faith, but he also dramatized through the Vitelli–Donusa love affair how Christians originally became renegades. Donusa the Muslim fell in love with Vitelli the Christian. When she was apprehended in his arms by her co-religionists, she, as well as he, was sentenced

[23] *The Renegado, A TragaeComedie* in *The Plays and Poems of Philip Massinger*, vol. II, pp. 2–4 for a survey of the Spanish and English sources. See also Warner G. Rice, "The Sources of Massinger's 'The Renegado'," *Philological Quarterly*, 11 (1932): 65–75. For a study of this play, see Jack D'Amico, *The Moor in English Renaissance Drama* (Tampa, FL: University of South Florida Press, 1991), pp. 119–132 and Mohammad Hassan Asfour, "The Crescent and the Cross: Islam and the Muslims in English Literature from Johnson to Byron" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1973), pp. 15 ff.

to death. The only way she could save his and her lives was to convert him to her religion: "I'll vndertake / To turne this Christian Turke, and marry him" (4.2.158–159). But when Donusa tried to convert Vitelli, the latter so denounced the fallacies of Islam that Donusa was convinced of Christianity's truth. Instead of her converting the Christian, the Christian converted the Muslim and made her an "Apostata" from her original faith (4.3.159).

Massinger was accurate about Muslim punishment for inter-religious sexual relationships and the life-saving option of conversion. Indeed, throughout the Donusa–Vitelli episode, he was faithful to his source, *Los banos de Argel* by Cervantes. But unlike Cervantes, Massinger chose to "stage Donusa's conversion"[24] in order to display a Muslim converting to Christianity rather than a Christian converting to Islam. By so doing, he challenged the link between falling in love with a Muslim woman and apostasy: in Daborne's play, a Christian's love of a Muslim woman was the cause of apostasy, and in *All's Lost by Lust* (1619–1620), a play attributed to William Rowley and Thomas Middleton,[25] Antonio was willing to "turne Turk, or Moore Mahometan" in order to satisfy his lust (2.6.44–45). Massinger used this same sexual motif and showed that even when a Christian fell in love with a Muslim, the former should and could resist apostasy. Where Daborne's Christian had given his faith for love, Massinger's would both preserve his faith and convert his Muslim beloved to Christianity.

Massinger's play ends as Vitelli baptizes Donusa and escapes with all the Christians and the Muslim converts back to Christendom. But just as Daborne's ending had been fabricated, so was Massinger's: writings by English travelers and diplomats about renegades in the Muslim empire rarely described a Christian victory. Very few renegades were known to have converted back to Christianity while still in Muslim territory, and of those, fewer would have lived to tell since the punishment for apostasy in Islam, as it was in Christianity, was death. That Grimaldy renounced Islam while he was still in Tunis, and that Donusa converted to Christianity in the presence of the Muslim court, was quite far-fetched: "We have few

[24] For the punishment of apostasy, see the note to 3.4.99–100 in *The Plays and Poems of Philip Massinger*, vol. v, p. 148. For Massinger's dramatization of Donusa's conversion, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 3.

[25] William Rowley and Thomas Middleton, *The Spanish Gipsie and All's Lost by Lust*, ed. Edgar C. Morris (Boston and London: D.C. Heath, 1908). This link between apostasy and sexual desire or love for a Muslim woman appears frequently in travel and captivity literature. See *The Adventures of (Mr. T. S.)* in which the author stated that the strongest temptation for apostasy had come from the prospect of marriage to a beautiful Muslim woman. Had the author accepted the marriage offer, he would have had to convert, since Islam does not allow the marriage of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim male T.S. rejected the offer: pp. 214 ff.

Examples," wrote Paul Rycaut later in the century, "of those Apostates who return from the Mahometan to the Christian faith; for none dares own such a Conversion but he who dares to dye for it."[26]

In the play, Massinger showed his audience the superiority of Christianity over Islam. He introduced a theological discussion between Vitelli and Donusa just before her conversion in which he exposed Islam as a false religion and Christianity as God's true revelation. For Vitelli, however, to make and win an argument in the heart of Muslim territory was a result of Massinger's borrowing from Cervantes: there was no support for such a situation in contemporary travel literature since any such dialogue with a Muslim would inevitably end adversely for the Christian, as William Okeley found out during his years of captivity in Algiers. After he argued with his Muslim owner, he was beaten for offending Islam and realized his "Folly" because he was not in "a place for Dispute, but Obedience."[27] Thomas Smith wrote that "It would be a piece of unwarrantable zeal and indiscretion (not to call it by a worse name) to upbraid them [Muslims] of their follies to their faces, without the least hope of success, and dispute with them in the Streets, and their Moschs." Smith continued that should any Christian do so, he would meet with death, but it would be no martyrdom because that person would "without any just occasion, much less necessity, [have] brought his death upon himself."[28] What Vitelli did would have stood little chance of success; and such deeds, according to Okeley, Smith and others, were outrageously rash. But for Massinger, accuracy was not crucial: Christianity had to triumph inside the Muslim seraglio and palace.

That the renegade was punished in Daborne but repented in Massinger was material for public consumption and not a reflection of a seventeenth-century reality. The confrontation with Islam took place at the level of fabrication: Massinger's play was thus a success and remained so until the Restoration period when, in 1664, a more "polished" version of the play was prepared. The happy ending of the renegades was not changed, and Grimaldy was presented as the vile person he had been in 1624: he used foul words and was quarrelsome, always ready to "draw his Scemiter."[29] This version simply confirmed the image of the evil and immoral apostate.

A similar image appeared a few years later. In the second part of *The History of the Three late famous Imposters* (1669), John Evelyn narrated "The

[26] Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 287.

[27] Okeley, *Eben-Ezer*, p. 14. [28] Thomas Smith, *Remarks*, pp. 32–33.

[29] Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Rawlinson poet. 20, p. 9. See, for the history of the play in the Restoration period, *The Plays and Poems of Philip Massinger*, vol. II, pp. 8–9.

Story of Mahomed Bei, who calls Himself Joannes Michael Cigala; Being at the Writing hereof in the Court of ENGLAND." Cigala was so dazzling a man that he captured the imagination of both court and city in September 1668. Indeed, in the Venetian State Papers, there was praise for his Christian mission: "In London there has appeared the famous Cigala who according to the light of the faith proceeded from Turkey to Germany, and received appointments from the emperor."[30] As a result of this praise, Evelyn hastened to revile Cigala as a "monstrous" imposter and nothing better than a "perfect Renegado." This alleged Bei, he wrote, claimed that he had converted to Christianity while dissembling Islam in order to serve the Christian cause in the Ottoman Empire. Evelyn denounced him for deceiving both the French and English Kings: he had come "lately into England, [and] had the fore-head to present himself, and the Legend of his Life to his Majestie." Cigala, warned Evelyn, had been "discovered" as a fraud by a Christian "Person of Great Quality": he was a renegade, and London should reward his suave apostasy by heaping on him the opprobrium he deserved.[31]

This negative image of the renegade remained prevalent in English writings until John Dryden's *Don Sebastian, King of Portugal* (1689). In this play, the presentation of "Dorax, a Noble Portuguese, now a Renegade" was significantly different from the cruder portraits by Daborne and Massinger. Although Dryden borrowed from Massinger some of the material of his plot, he presented Dorax as a man of moral virtue and stature: both while he was a renegade and after his re-conversion to Christianity, Dorax was a noble figure, admired by both Muslims and Christians: "You've too much honour for a Renegade," Benducar the Muslim chief minister exclaims at one point.[32] The simplistic association of evil with renegade and good with Christian was discontinued by Dryden.

Dryden wrote his play as the allure and power of the Ottoman Empire were declining. Although there were still Christian converts to Islam, their numbers were not as alarming as they had been in the first half of the century. It was thus psychologically possible for a writer in England to look at the "renegade" not from a hateful but an analytical perspective: and as Dryden showed, Dorax turned "renegade" not out of admiration for Islam but because he had been badly treated in Christendom. The renegade for Dryden was not the hypocrite or the evil Christian but the angry and alienated man; Dorax had not really wanted to adopt Islam but had been pushed to it by the ungrateful and vindictive actions of his own co-religionists. The blame for apostasy, Dryden suggested, may partly lie in Christian society. That is why at the end of the play, Dryden reconciled Dorax to Don Sebastian after which Dorax resumed his Christian life and career: apostasy had been a temporary slide, a brief departure from the Christianity to which the moral protagonist could not but return.

[30] *C.S.P. and Manuscripts, Venice, 1666–1668*, vol. xxxv, p. 268, September 14, 1668. Strangely, there is no mention of Cigala in the *C.S.P. Domestic*.

[31] John Evelyn, *The History of the Three late famous Imposters* (1669), pp. 33–34. See other references cited in *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. III, p. 522.

[32] *Don Sebastian* in *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. Earl Miner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), vol. xv, p. 53.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND THE "RENEGADE"

While playwrights invented renegades on stage, preachers and congregations had actually to confront them in their parishes. In this period, hundreds of Britons returned from the Muslim dominions after years of enslavement and, in the case of many, after conversion to Islam, to resume their social and religious positions in their community. Such returnees raised serious problems because some of them were known to have converted out of Christianity, but unlike what the dramatists showed on stage, they had neither met with divine retribution nor had they defiantly cursed the Muslims while they were in their midst. Rather, they had prospered, showing thereby how different drama was from reality. Preachers therefore turned to address the "real" renegades, recalling full well the words of Psalm 68:6 in the Book of Common Prayer: "He is the God that maketh men to be of one mind in an house, and bringeth the prisoners out of captivity: but letteth the runagates continue in scareceness." As preachers met those former members of their congregations, they were deeply concerned that the renegades among them had not continued "in scareceness": instead, they had prospered. Preachers were also concerned that in the absence of divine punishment befalling the renegades, the responsibility fell on them to bring the Muslim converts back to the Church (of England).

In 1627, an Englishman returned from his captivity in Algiers to his town of Minehead in Somerset, confessed to his apostasy to Islam and sought readmission to his church. This anonymous person was the first Renaissance Englishman on record who admitted to conversion to Islam after returning to his home. His confession was so dramatic that two sermons were preached by Edward Kellet and Henry Byam on the same day in which he was readmitted to church. These were the first sermons in English celebrating what seemed to be an unprecedented confession. Ten years later, another man confessed to his apostasy, a certain Vincent Jukes,

an apprentice to a cook, and again a sermon was preached, by William Gouge in Stepney near London. These sermons provide valuable information about the popular as well as the ecclesiastical attitude to renegades in England.

In the context of Englishmen's renunciation of Anglicanism, the Church of England of the first half of the seventeenth century faced two challenges. The first came from certain groups of millenarians who were preaching to their congregations a return to circumcision and the Mosaic law. This challenge was reflected in the growing number of adherents to millenarianism in and about London, a noteworthy example of whom was John Traske who, in 1618, declared himself a Jew. Although he recanted two years later after being denounced by Bishop Andrewes and others, a few of his followers, including his wife, persevered in the "Judaising sect."[33] As a result, clergymen made an association between the circumcision which was being preached in London and the circumcision which was practiced on the English converts to Islam. The danger was similar, whether it was committed by a Jew or a Muslim: for circumcision was a denial of the messianic fulfillment in Jesus, a denial that the Jews and the Muslims – in different ways – shared. That Englishmen had submitted themselves to circumcision during their Muslim captivity proved that they had rejected their Lord and savior: they had stained "the Christal clere-sauing water of Baptisme, with the bloud of Circumcision," proclaimed Kellet.[34] And as the Anglican Church had confronted the circumcisers in London, it would now have to confront those who had accepted Muslim circumcision abroad and were resettled in their homes.

The other challenge to the Church came from those Puritans who were undermining the authority of parish ministers. Puritans attacked the Anglican clergy for laxity in congregational care: that is why the three sermons which survive about reconverting apostates were preached by ministers of the Church of England who in turn emphasized how all the ecclesiastical hierarchy had cooperated in the admission of the apostate back to the Church – from the parish preacher who actually administered the communion to the Archbishop of Canterbury; Kellet stated that the renegade had been "admitted by the authority of the Lord Bishop of that

[33] In 1617, King James denounced Englishmen who celebrated the Sabbath as inclining "to a kind of Judaism," quoted in J. Tait, "The Declaration of Sports for Lancashire (1617)," *English Historical Review*, 32 (1917): 561–568; Henry E. I. Phillips, "An Early Stuart Judaising Sect," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 15 (1946): 63–72; and David S. Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1603–1655* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), chapter 1. See also Thomas Edwards, *The First and Second Part of Gangraena* (1646) for "Judaical" sects in Colchester, London and Wales, part 1, p. 121; and part 2, pp. 26, 31.

[34] Kellet, *A Retorne from Argier*, p. 18.

Dioces,"[35] while Gouge confirmed in his sermon on Jukes's repentance that the renegade had gone through the proper ecclesiastical channels before he was readmitted to the fold: he had proceeded from the curate of his parish at Stepney to the vicar to the bishop and finally to Archbishop Laud.[36]

The sermons showed how important the Church was in ensuring proper reconversion for renegades. The Church was also needed to frighten other members of the laity into confession and penance – should they be unwilling to admit to their past apostasy and undergo the proper reconversion procedure. It was widely known that many Englishmen returned but did not admit that they had converted to Islam. Byam observed that

> Many hundreds, are Musselmans in Turkie, and Christians at home; doffing their religion, as they doe their clothes, and keeping a conscience for euery Harbor wheere they shall put in. And those Apostates and circumcised Renegadoes, thinke they haue discharged their Conscience wondrous well, if they can Returne, and (the fact vnknowne) make profession of their first faith.[37]

A decade later, the same anxiety was expressed by Gouge who referred to the earlier renegade who had been received in the church at "Minhead in Somerset-shire." Gouge described this man who had confessed to his apostasy as not "ordinary": for renegades who submitted themselves to the Church after returning to England were "tenth of ten times ten of them that having played the Renegadoes are returned into their countrey, yet never gave any publike evidence of their true repentance."[38]

There is no information in English writings about the reasons why renegades gave up Islam and returned to their native homes.[39] But it is evident from the sermons that of the "thousands" of Christians who converted to Islam, some had returned to England without confessing to their past.[40] Evidently, there was easy mobility between Barbary and England, Islam and Christianity: in 1637, it was reported that one Thomas Norton of Devon had been captured by Algerian pirates seventeen years earlier. He had lived as a slave with them, had then escaped to Sali, had been recaptured by his master, had then ransomed himself, converted to Islam and turned pirate, exceeding "the Turk's cruelty to his own countrymen."

[35] *Ibid.*, "To the Reader." [36] Gouge, *A Recovery*, pp. 5–6.

[37] Henry Byam, *A Returne from Argier, A Sermon Preached at Minhead in the County of Somerset the 16. of March, 1627 (1628)*, p. 74.

[38] Gouge, *A Recovery*, pp. 6, 41.

[39] See Rycaut who explained that "Renegados, have afterwards (growing weary of the Customes of Turks to which they were strangers) found means of escape, and returned again into England," *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 290.

[40] Gouge, *A Recovery*, p. 42.

Finally, he returned to Dartmouth where he lived "at his trade as a carpenter, until discovered by some to whom he had been hard at Sallee."[41] There were many Christians, wrote the French traveler Joseph Grelot later in the century, "who having slightly quitted their [Christian] Religion, because perhaps they never had any, with the same inconstancy abandon what they so solemnly and with so much pain have embrac'd at their expences [Islam]."[42] Paul Rycaut reviled Englishmen who returned to England and to Christianity and slipped back into their church pews without ever repenting of their "abominable Lapse and Apostasie."[43] Having seen how difficult such a return was among the Greeks, he was distressed that converted Britons could return so easily. During his stay in Tangier, Pepys learned that some English seamen had "turned Turks," while others had turned Catholic, only to "turn Protestants again" a few months later.[44]

Gouge realized that many Englishmen rejoined their parishes and participated in Christian worship while still professing Islam. He was deeply apprehensive that men, who were to all intents and purposes Muslim, were actually sitting in the pews of his church:

> I feare, I feare, that there are some even now here present that have beene in the case wherein this Penitent was, lost; but not in the case wherein he is, found. I feare there are some that have played Renegadoes, and as an evidence thereof, are circumcised.[45]

He pleaded with these secret renegades to present themselves to the Church. But he knew that there was no real method by which such renegades could be discovered – short of an actual physical examination to see whether or not they had been circumcised, an examination that both John Locke and Daniel Defoe described at the end of the century.[46] Gouge therefore encouraged friends and relatives of the renegade to spy on him: "If by private meanes thou canst not so farre prevaile with such as thou knowest to be Renegadoes, as to bring them voluntarily to make satisfaction to the Chruch [sic], then follow Christs advice, Mat. 18.17. Tell it unto the Church."[47] The secret renegade was an enemy who should be informed on: as Catholics were spied on during the Elizabethan period

[41] *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I, 1637*, vol. XI, p. 487. [42] Grelot, *A Late Voyage*, p. 176.
[43] Rycaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 290.
[44] *The Tangier Papers of Samuel Pepys*, p. 198. [45] Gouge, *A Recovery*, p. 16.
[46] Richard Cotte, the first Earl of Bellomont, wrote to John Locke on November 29, 1699 that after capturing the pirate James Gilliam, he wanted to verify whether the latter had converted to Islam. So he had him "search'd by a Jew and an able surgeon, in this town [Boston] and they have both depos'd on oath that he is Circumcis'd," *The Correspondence of John Locke*, ed. De Beer, vol. VI, p. 736. In *The Life, Adventures, And Pyracies of the Famous Captain Singleton* (1720), Daniel Defoe also had his hero examined in a similar manner to verify that he was not Muslim, ed. Shiv K. Kumar (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 8.
[47] Gouge, *A Recovery*, p. 90.

and after, so were the renegades to be treated as enemies of the Church and the realm.

All three preachers accused their renegades of cowardice. For them it was better to die than to submit to the false religion of Islam. What was, however, deeply disturbing about renegades was that they were unwilling to recognize the horror of their deed, and that they, and others, were using specious and disingenuous arguments to justify it. Gouge denounced some overseas travelers with whom he had talked because they were saying that there was nothing wrong with apostasizing if one knew that apostasy would be for a limited time and if one planned to return to one's faith after escaping from slavery. Neither slavery nor pain, Gouge urged, should be used to justify compromise on matters that pertained to eternal life. That is why he spent nearly half his sermon in citing descriptions of Christian endurance of persecution (under the Romans) and then he blasted the renegades who preferred life to eternity: "Is the rage of man more to be feared then the wrath of God? chaines of iron more then the bonds of the law? Bondage under Turkes more then slavery under Satan."[48] For Gouge, neither torture nor captivity was equal to the horror of Christlessness: it was better to die for Christ than live for "Mahomet."

In such a context, Byam and Gouge graphically described the punishments that the Church in the past had imposed on renegades. Such punishments were not unbefitting men who had committed the gravest crime. But, they continued, the Church of the *via media* was tolerant and accommodating, and it was willing to extend its mercy to the renegades. In so doing, they were eager to remind their congregations that the Church distinguished itself from Puritans, who allegedly wavered between treating apostasy too lightly and urging the severest punishments on the apostate. Byam insisted that there be some kind of punishment of the renegade, but Gouge assured his congregation of the Church's mercy and promised that now, unlike in the past, the Church would deal with them "gently and gratiously." The Anglican Church, he announced, was kind and considerate to the penitents, unlike the "Puritans" whom he compared to the obdurate and heretical "Novatians" of the early Christian era who denied reconciliation to those who apostatized under persecution.[49]

Because of the Church's strong condemnation of apostasy, some renegades found that the best way to deflect the pulpit's ire was to argue that they had not converted to Islam in their hearts but only with their tongues. Their conversion to Islam, they argued, should be seen as an act of justifiable dissembling since their faith had remained deeply Christian throughout

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 26. [49] *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 80.

their outward confession of Islam. Charles FitzGeffry, preaching in Plymouth in 1636, summarized the renegades' argument that they "received the abominable circumcision in their flesh, but not in their hearts. Some of them have professed so much in their private letters to their friends that outwardly they are Mahumetans, but in minde they remaine Christians."[50] This was a dangerous and totally unacceptable position for FitzGeffry: faith was being treated lightly, and men were giving in to fear or allure too quickly and were viewing mortal life as more important than eternal life. "Excuse them I cannot," FitzGeffry warned since he was well aware that many converts who had thought themselves dissemblers had finally been won over by Islam and had remained in the Muslim dominions. Christianity was to be adhered to at all times and in all places.

The reason why the Church and the preachers were so firm against renegades was that the parents of a returning convert willingly adopted the distinction of inner faith and outer dissimulation in order to forgive their kinsman. After the initial anger and despair at knowing that their son had converted to Islam, Joseph Pitts's parents grew sympathetic, especially when they learned that their son had always wanted to return to Christianity and had been unable to do so under the harsh conditions of slavery. Indeed, Pitts's father was gratified when he learned that his son had converted "with [his] Mouth" and not his heart, and he assured his captive son in letters exchanged while the latter was still among the Muslims that the clergymen whom he had consulted all agreed that Joseph "had not sinned the Unpardonable Sin."[51] For parents, the fact that their kinsman was alive was more important than his conversion to Islam.

While families were willing to forgive their kinsmen, the rest of the parish community was ambiguous about their position toward a former Muslim. A socially sensitive issue which the preachers thus had to address in their sermons was the reception of the returning renegade by the community at large. On most occasions, a renegade was welcomed back among relatives who were not bothered by their kinsman's apostasy and were overjoyed that he was back in England. Kellet complained in his sermon that many a friend of the renegade had "risen vp in [his – renegade's] defence, with semblances, to make thy [friend's] sinne shew lesse."[52] Villagers did not want the minister to come down too harshly on the renegade, and they protested to Kellet so much that he denounced their trivialization of apostasy. But there were occasions when the renegade's community did not know whether to revile or pity, ostracize or include the

[50] FitzGeffry, *Compassion*, p. 35. [51] Pitts, *Account*, p. 146.
[52] Kellet, *A Returne from Argier*, p. 17. See also pp. 30, 40.

renegade. And even after the "renegade" had repented of his sin, the community may still have found his presence unsettling.

In order to assist in the social reintegration of the repentant renegade, Byam came to his support and warned the congregation against "vnchristian vpbraidings, reproches, twittings."[53] Similarly, Gouge tried to secure the repenting renegade within his family and community. Evidently, in some cases, even parents and spouses did not know how to treat their renegade kin, and Gouge objected strongly to any form of ostracism or discrimination:

> Upbraide not his circumcision; upbraide not his subjecting himselfe to Mahometisme: shunne not his society; avoid not communion with him . . trafique with him: eate and drinke with him, pray with him and pray for him.[54]

Some returning renegades had been totally rejected: people had not been willing to talk to or socialize with them or to allow them commercial activity. Gouge urged that the reconverted renegade be fully reintegrated into his Christian community. By repenting, the sinner had paid his dues to God and (English)man.

Clearly, by the mid-1630s there was need for a well-formulated ecclesiastical position toward returning renegades. Although those who confessed to their apostasy were very few, the Church of England not only had to establish a process of readmission but also find a means to encourage others to renounce publicly their adherence to Islam. By such a process, the Church would not only have precise information about the number of converts, but, more importantly perhaps, make sure that those who were taking communion at the altar were indeed Christians. In response to a query from John Hall, the Bishop of Exeter, Archbishop Laud wrote that there were captives who had converted to Islam in Morocco and who were now back in England and seeking admission to the Church.[55] Laud thus presented to Parliament in 1637 *A Form of Penance and Reconciliation of a Renegado or Apostate from the Christian Religion to Turcism*. In this *Form*, Laud urged that the process of re-adoption into the Church should take a few weeks and entail a public act of humiliation on the part of the renegade. Laud suggested a quasi-drama of return, a kind of ritual of reacceptance: on the first and second Sundays after the renegade had reconverted, the latter would stand in the porch of the church dressed in a white sheet with a "white wand in his hand." This model by Laud was drawn from the

[53] Byam, *A Returne from Argier*, p. 76. [54] Gouge, *A Recovery*, p. 82.
[55] *The Works of William Laud*, 7 vols. (Oxford: Parker, 1847–1860), vol. v, part 2, p. 352. The form, from which the quotations below are taken, appears on pp. 272 ff.

practice of the Roman Catholic Church and the Inquisition: from the thirteenth century and well into the eighteenth century and even later, a heretic from the Catholic Church who repented was made to wear a white sheet and carry a staff and wand in his hand topped by white feathers (unlike the black feathers of the unrepentant heretic).[56] The penitent, continued Laud, would keep

> his head uncovered, his countenance dejected, not taking particular notice of any person that passeth by him; and when the people come in and go out of the church, let him upon his knees humbly crave their prayers, and acknowledge his offence.

Laud's note in the margin of his text warns that "boys and idle people flock not about him." Obviously, the repenting renegade was a rare sight in churches: Laud must have noted how the renegade was stared at, perhaps even taunted, by "boys" who treated him as they would a pilloried malefactor. On the third Sunday, the renegade was to be admitted into "the body of the church" and stand near the "minister's pew" until finally the "holy priests in His Church" give him absolution.

Laud may have sought to establish a dramatic equivalent to the renegade on stage. But his model depicted the real rather than the fictional renegade: furthermore, Laud showed that the Church was indeed assuming responsibility for dealing with this crisis of apostasy, and, more importantly, for bringing English renegades back to their religious and social communities. Dramatists invented the repentant renegade and Laud made that repentance possible, not on stage, but in church, and not in the imaginary world of the Mediterranean, but in England. Indeed, as drama and the theater moved into precarious times in the 1630s (to be finally closed in the next decade), it is quite possible that the visual and socially interactive model which Laud introduced would have proved quite appealing to congregations, especially children.

Laud's ritual, which Gouge praised in his sermon a year later, did not have much impact on the Church in the decades of the Civil Wars and the Interregnum when Laudianism was dismantled. After the Restoration, it was also ignored: in 1679, Paul Rycaut criticized, as Gouge had done half a century earlier, Englishmen who apostatized but then grew weary of the "Customes of Turks," escaped back to England, went directly to church and participated in the sacraments without undergoing any act of penance, "as if they had been the most constant and faithful of the

[56] See figure 58 in Robert Held, *Inquisition: A Bilingual Guide to the Exhibition of Torture Instruments from the Middle Ages to the Industrial Era* (Florence: Qua D'Arno, 1985).

Sheepfold."[57] Rycaut was not as angry with the renegades as he was with the clergy of the Church who did not seem to care about the matter. Indeed, so poorly were ministers helping returning converts and working toward reintegrating them into the community that, in the next century, Thomas Pellow complained after his return to England that "some ill-natured people think me so [apostate] even to this day" – although he had gone to church and "returned thanks to Almighty God before the congregation."[58] By the eighteenth century, when conversion to Islam had become rare, the stigma of having converted to Islam became difficult to remove.

In English seventeenth-century thought, the renegade shared the infamy of the Machiavellian, Faustian and Moorish villains because he threatened not just the faith but the idea of England. He was renouncing all that defined England to Englishmen, and he was doing so by adopting the religiously different culture of Islam. The renegade thus became a threat that English society had to confront: and while the Catholic and later the Nonconformist helped shape the Protestant discourse of the seventeenth century, the convert to Islam shaped the cultural and, to a lesser degree, the military discourse. For the renegade was forcing dramatists and preachers, villagers and seafarers to reflect on the danger of Muslim piracy (which was often successful because of the renegades), and the distinction between inner and outer expressions of faith. Especially if the renegade returned home, he was also reminding Protestants, at a period of Anglican ascendancy in England, that faith was not always experienced in the "beauty of holiness," but that it sometimes had to be grappled with in slavery and torture.

Meanwhile, the renegade who remained among the Muslims challenged English society because he had left the church for the mosque, foreshadowing thereby the numerical and geographical supremacy of Islam. No wonder that in the verse and prose of the seventeenth century, the renegade was vilified to Satanic magnitudes, and English writers either reconverted or executed him. Even a father was happy to kill his renegade son, as Massinger showed in *The Unnatural Combat*. Malefort, a French naval officer, had fallen under suspicion of colluding with the Turks because of his son who had turned renegade and joined the Turkish fleet. As he stood before his superiors, he cursed his "treacherous issue" and wished him dead:

[57] Rycaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 290. Hebb described Laud's "service" as "unworkable": *Piracy and the English Government*, pp. 169–170. But the Greek Church had a similar model which proved quite effective: see Rycaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*, pp. 285–289, "The manner of receiving into the Church such as have denyed the faith."

[58] Pellow, *The Adventures of Thomas Pellow*, pp. 56, 320.

> I . . . wish in th'agonie of my troubled soule,
> Lightning had found him in his mothers womb. 1.1.275–276.

A convert to Islam deserved "capital" punishment, urged Thomas Smith, unless he could prove, with the help of witnesses, that he had been circumcised against his will.[59] But if a Christian could not prove duress as the cause of his conversion to Islam, then he met the same fate as the "three English leaders, who were immediately put to death" in 1620 or the "Welsh renegado" who, upon being captured, was instantly executed in 1671.[60] The renegade was viewed as an escaped felon who was free because he lived under a religious authority different from that in Britain: he could neither be intimidated physically or spiritually nor could he be redirected to his former faith nor made to suffer for renouncing it. As Thomas Hobbes bluntly observed, a Christian who became an "Apostate, in a place where the Civill Power did persecute, or not assist the Church, the effect of Excommunication had nothing in it, neither of damage in this world, nor of terrour" in the next.[61]

The convert to Islam never became as important an Other as the "Papist" or the "Novation"/Puritan, but in the first half of the seventeenth century, he appeared in dramas and sermons and church porches, and communities ranging from Plymouth to Stepney discussed, pitied, defamed, welcomed and ostracized him. The renegade was an Other in the midst of English society because he reminded priests and writers, urban theatergoers and village congregations of the power and allure of the Muslim Empire. Not until the nineteenth century would the British convert to Islam be viewed not as a "renegade" Other but as a subject, not with power, but with a different religion.[62]

[59] Smith, *Remarks*, p. 114; see also, Thomas Sanders in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. v, p. 320.

[60] *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, 1619–1621*, ed. Allen B. Hinds (Nendeln/Lichtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1970, first publ. 1910), vol. xvi, p. 486; *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles II, 1671*, vol. xi, p. 122. See also G. P., *Janua Linguarum: The Gate of Languages unlocked: or, A Seed-plot of all Arts and Tongues, containing a ready way to learn the Latine and English Tongue* (1647), in which the author explains, in entry 722, that upon defeating a city, "traitors are drawn asunder with horses; renegadoes* /revolters/ are impalled /gauched/. * That turne Turks." See also the execution of the two renegade bishops in Raleigh, *The Life and Death of Mahomet*, pp. 106–107.

[61] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. C. B. Macpherson (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1971), p. 537.

[62] The first record of a native-born Briton who converted to Islam and openly declared himself a Muslim in England is of William Henry Quillian who converted in 1884 after visiting Morocco. He returned to Liverpool and started the "Church of Islam": see John J. Pool, *Studies in Mahommedanism, Historical and Doctrinal with a Chapter on Islam in England* (Westminster: A. Constable, 1892), chapter 40.

CHAPTER THREE

"Arabia Britannica" "Alcoran" and the legacy of Arabic Islam

> Nova Faelix Arabia. Vnder that shape of Arabia, this Iland [Britain] being figugured [sic] . . . The most worthy personage aduaunced in this place, was Arabia Britannica.[1]

Through the writings of dramatists, travelers, and chroniclers, along with the accounts of returning captives and reconverted "renegades," knowledge of Islam reached a cross-section of English society. By the middle of the seventeenth century, Islam was no longer viewed as a religion with which Christians were engaged in distant lands but as an intellectual and social matter at home. In May 1649, and for the first time in English history, the complete text of the Qur'an was translated into English by Alexander Ross (1592–1654): *The Alcoran of Mahomet, Translated out of Arabique into French; By the Sieur Du Ryer, Lord of Malezair, and Resident for the King of France, at Alexandria*. Although the translation was poor, a text purporting to be the Qur'anic revelation was now available to English readers and would remain the only English version for the next eighty-five years – until the translation by George Sale in 1734.

Ross's translation demonstrates the ongoing interest in Islam in seventeenth-century England. At the end of the medieval period, England had lagged behind the rest of Europe in Arabic and specifically Qur'anic studies.[2] But at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the English Arabist William Bedwell (1563–1632) wrote the first book to be published in England consisting of a list of the suras of the Qur'an: *Index Assvratarvm Mvhammedici Alkorani, That is, A Catalogue of the Chapters of the Turkish Alkoran,*

[1] Thomas Dekker, *The Whole Magnifycent Entertainment: Given to King James, Queene Anne his wife, and Henry Frederick the Prince* (1604), E3 r.

[2] See Dorothee Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977), chapter 2; Karl H. Dannenfeldt, "The Renaissance Humanists and the Knowledge of Arabic," *Studies in the Renaissance*, 2 (1955): 96–117; G. A. Russell, ed., *The "Arabick" Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Leiden: Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 1994). The most recent study of this topic appears in G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

as they are named in the Arabicke, and known to the Musslemans . . . Gathered and digested according to their naturall order, for the benefite of Divines, and such as favour these studies (1615). This book was the closest that any English Arabist had produced about the Qur'an in England.[3] Bedwell, who knew the Qur'an well (as his work on an Arabic Lexicon attests), gave the name of each sura in the Qur'an, transliterated it, translated it into Latin, and sometimes included notes about its history and composition.[4] Attached to the *Index* was *A Spiritvall Conference* in which Bedwell presented a general portrait of Islamic doctrine (with allusions to specific suras from the "glorious Alkoran") and Muslim religious practices. Two years later, Samuel Purchas published his third edition of his *Pilgrimage* in which he drew on Bedwell's Qur'anic scholarship to introduce the central tenets of the Islamic text, along with observations on its history and style, and a translation of a few passages, including the opening verses, the *Fatiha*.[5]

Notwithstanding this interest in the Qur'an, neither an Arabic nor an English version of the Qur'an was yet available to the English reading public. Until 1631, Cambridge University, for instance, did not have a single manuscript of the Qur'an: indeed, sometime before October 1630, Abraham Wheelock (1593–1653), who became Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, wrote to Bedwell asking him to donate his copy of "Alkoran" to the University Library: Bedwell promised to do so, writing *in sha' allah* in Arabic, and actually did so in 1631, providing the University Library thereby with its first manuscript of the Qur'an.[6] In the 1630s and early 1640s, the Oxford orientalist John Gregory (d. 1646) examined original Arabic manuscripts at the Bodleian Library in Oxford and a few at the Cambridge University Library, but in the preface to his (posthumously) published works, he indicated that "the Alcoran is scarcely translated yet. The best disguise of it is that in Arragonois by Joannes Andreas the Moor, but the entire Copy of it is not easily met with."[7] The reason why there was

[3] The only previous treatise purporting to deal with the Qur'an and published in England was by W. De Worde, *Treatyse of the Turkes Lawe Called Alcaron* (1519). The text, however, dealt more with images of Islam than with the Qur'an. See chapter 4 below.

[4] "Surat o'lanaam, Capitulum Gratiarum.
Sora Alanham, id est, Bonorum, Postell," p. 2 in *Index Assvratarum*.

For a detailed study of Bedwell, see Alastair Hamilton, *William Bedwell the Arabist, 1563–1632* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), chapter 4 specifically. Contrary to what A. J. Arberry said in his *British Orientalists* (London: W. Collins, 1943), p. 16, Bedwell did not produce the first English translation of the Qur'an.

[5] *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1617), pp. 283 ff. Purchas had also written about Islam in his 1613 edition, pp. 206 ff. See also Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, pp. 56–64.

[6] Cambridge University Library, MS Dd 3.12 fol. 4r. See also Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, pp. 85–93.

[7] *The Works of the Reverend and Learned Mr. John Gregory* (London: R. Royston, 1665), a2 v. See my "Some Notes on John Gregroy and Islam," *Discoveries*, 14 (1997):1–2, 6–7; see also Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, chapter 4.

difficulty in acquiring a copy of the Qur'an in Arabic, explained Gregory, was that the Prophet "Mahomet Abulcasim, the son of Abdalla" had enjoined that the text should not be touched except by those who are "Pure. And the Law is yet in force among the Turks for some special Alcorans of note, one of which sort inscribed in the same manner may be seen in the Archives of our publick Library."[8] Other than in such manuscripts, there were no published Arabic copies of the Qur'an in England.

Such unavailability motivated Abraham Wheelock to attempt an edition of the Islamic text.[9] In 1647, he began a translation of the Qur'an into both Latin and Greek, along with a polemic against the Qur'an "in the Language of the Alcoran, which is the Arabick."[10] Although Wheelock was seeking to advance the status of oriental-Arabic studies at his University, his purpose in working on the Qur'an was chiefly polemical. Wheelock, however, was unable to proceed with his project because of the absence of "a Typographie of faire Arabick Characters": evidently, Cambridge University lacked both "a Typographie for Arabic & Syriack" and the compositors to set them up. Although Wheelock was diligent in his Arabic research, having an "Arabic mill" in his rooms, as it was reported, he was unable to publish anything in the field.[11] "[W]illing & forwward & able" as he was, explained the linguist and antiquarian Thomas Smith to his correspondent Samuel Hartlib on April 10, 1648, Wheelock was "poore" and in need of "encouragement" and patronage.[12] A few months later, Wheelock appealed to Smith to advance his cause before the Westminster Assembly of Divines in London:[13] Smith approached a number of members in the Assembly and confirmed in another letter to Hartlib that while Ralph Cudworth, Master of Clare Hall in Cambridge, and others were eager for Wheelock to finish his project of translating the Qur'an and of printing it in Arabic, the Cambridge University facilities were not adequate. He also told Hartlib that Wheelock had asked him to request of the Senior Proctor that the University acquire "new small letters": Smith did so and succeeded in having the Regent-house pass a vote in favor of "printing the Alcoran at the University charge."[14]

Notwithstanding the support that Wheelock was receiving from the

[8] Gregory, *Works*, p. 156. The copy he mentions is at Cambridge University Library.

[9] See the account about Wheelock in *D.N.B.*

[10] *The Hartlib Papers*, The Electronic Project, henceforth, *HP*, 33/4/1A–4A. The letter was written by Wheelock to Samuel Hartlib on November 12, 1647.

[11] *Ibid.*, and *D.N.B.*

[12] *HP*, 15/6/15A–16. See also the discussion of Smith in Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, pp. 243–247.

[13] In a letter by Smith to Hartlib, *HP*, 15/6/18A–19B, September 22, 1648.

[14] *HP*, 15/6/27A–28B. The letter is dated October 11 (no year). But it clearly belongs to 1648.

Hartlib circle, his Qur'an never saw light: neither his Greek nor Latin translation nor his Arabic edition was ever printed.[15] Meanwhile, Samuel Hartlib recorded in his *Ephemerides* how two brothers, a grocer and a stationer, were planning to "cause all the Alcoran to bee graven and so printed which will Exceed all that ever hath beene done . . . But it will cost some thousands of lib."[16] Again, their edition did not see light. But a few months later, Alexander Ross produced his translation: Ross was not part of the Hartlib group (his name does not appear in the Hartlib corpus) but having noticed, as he himself stated, translations of the Qur'an in "Latin, Italian, French" and other European languages,[17] he decided to undertake an English translation.

Ross did not know Arabic and relied completely on the French translation by André du Ryer who had been the French Consul in Egypt. The French translation of the Qur'an, which was based on the original Arabic, had appeared in Paris in 1647: *L'Alcoran de Mahomet translaté d'Arabe en François, par le Sieur du Ryer Sieur de la Garde Malezair*. Perhaps because the translation had had the blessing of King Louis XIV ("Avec Priuilege du Roy"), Ross, who was a beneficiary of the English monarch, Charles I, and had received the vicarage of Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight from him, may have thought that by translating the Qur'an, he too might receive royal patronage.[18]

When Ross finished his translation, the King was dead (executed on January 29, 1649), and England had turned into a Commonwealth. Nonplussed, Ross sent his text to the Commonwealth licensor, but as soon as it became known that the Qur'an was being printed in England, one Colonel Anthony Weldon petitioned the Council of State "touching the Turkish Alcoran, informing the same to he [sic] in the Press" whereupon the Council immediately issued a warrant for the sergeant-at-arms to "search for the press where the Turkish Alcoran is being printed, and to seize the same, and the papers: also to apprehend the printer and take him

[15] In a letter dated October 30, 1648, Smith opened to Hartlib with the following words: "About 5 weekes agoe I sent you a letter by my brother, acquainting you with Mr Whilock his desires of hearing what becomes of his Alcoran notes," *HP*, 15/6/20A–21B.

[16] *HP*, 31/22/39b, *Ephemerides* 1648, Part 3, 1648 (June/July – December). Hartlib continued: "Alcoran to bee graven and so printed which will Exceed all that ever hath beene done and may be insinuated by Merchants to the Turks with the Refutation which will seeme to be fairly written. But it will cost some thousands of lib."

[17] *The Alcoran of Mahomet* (London, 1649), A2 r. No information about the publisher is given. For the history of the Qur'an in Europe, see Hartmut Bobzin, "Latin Translations of the Koran: A short overview," *Der Islam*, 70 (1993): 193–206 and *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Beirut/Stuttgart, 1995).

[18] See the biography of Ross in *D.N.B.* For Arabic studies in France, see Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, pp. 26–35.

before the Council of State."[19] On March 21, the printer was apprehended, and all the copies that had been printed of the Qur'an were "seized."[20] The Council of State then ordered that the matter be looked into so that the printer, who was in jail, would either be discharged or kept in custody; furthermore, the Council ordered "proceedings for suppressing the books and the further printing of them." Ten days later, on March 31, the Council of State summoned "Thos. Ross . . . to give an account for the printing of the Alcoran."[21]

No documentary evidence has survived about the proceedings against Ross or about the reasons why there was opposition to the publication of the Qur'an in English. After all, in December 1648, the Council of Mechanics had voted a toleration of various religious groups, including Muslims:[22] for purposes of increasing commercial activity, "Turks" and Jews were allowed to trade in England. Furthermore, as Ross noted, Samuel Purchas and Ephraim Pagitt had already provided general surveys about Muslim theology: whatever the reasons were that turned the House against the publication, those reasons seem to have disappeared since Ross's translation finally came out in print on May 7, 1649.

The prefatory material to the translation provides the only hints about how Ross had reacted to his brush with the new Commonwealth authority and indeed why that authority may have opposed the publication of his "Alcoran." By way of introduction, Ross added to the translation of du Ryer's "Epistle to the Reader" and "A Summary of the Religion of the TURKS" two letters of praise that had been sent to du Ryer from numerous consuls along with the pass which the "grand Seignior" had issued to him for his travels between France and the Ottoman Empire. These letters had not appeared in the French text: Ross wanted to show the respect which du Ryer had earned from Christians and Muslims alike for undertaking the translation. Most importantly, however, Ross inserted a three-page address at the very beginning of the book, "The Translator to the Christian Reader," in which he turned his "Alcoran" into a venue for criticizing the new Commonwealth administration and its censorship.

[19] *Journals of the House of Commons*, comp. Timothy Cunningham (London: House of Commons, 1785), vol. VI, p. 168; *C.S.P., Domestic, Commonwealth. 1649–50*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: H.M.S.O., 1878), vol. I, p. 42. The incorrect reference to "Alcoran" as "Turkish" goes as far back as Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II, 5.1.170. It was popularized by Knolles who listed among his sources "Alcoranum Turcicum." Even the Arabist William Bedwell referred to the Qur'an as Turkish indicating the interchangeability in England between "Muslim" and "Turkish."

[20] *Journal of the House of Commons*, vol. VI, p. 170; *C.S.P. Commonwealth*, vol. I, p. 45.

[21] *C.S.P Commonwealth*, vol. I, p. 63.

[22] Cited in H. S. Q. Henriques, *The Return of the Jews to England* (London: Macmillan, 1905), p. 36.

As a Royalist and High Churchman, Ross was deeply anxious about the political and religious condition of England. He looked at France and saw a monarchy with a powerful grip on religious authority: neither king nor archbishop had been executed by their subjects as had happened in England. Furthermore, the dismantling of the national church in England had spawned new sects and heresies which had taken hold of the army and had spread among the rest of the population. Ross, who viewed the "Turkish" religion as a heresy, turned now against these "heretics" at the helm of the English state and explained to the "Christian Reader" that the reason why he had been forbidden from publishing his text was that the "Batch" of heretics in Whitehall did not want another heresy to threaten their own:

> Therefore (Christian Reader) though some, conscious of their own instability in Religion, and of theirs (too like Turks in this) whose prosperity and opinions they follow, were unwilling this should see the Presse, yet am I confident, if thou hast been so true a votary to orthodox Religion, as to keep thy self untainted of their follies: this shall not hurt thee: And as for those of that Batch, having once abandoned the Sun of the Gospel, I believe they will wander as far into utter darkenesse, by following strange lights, as by this Ignis Fatuus of the Alcoran.[23]

Ross believed that "orthodox" Christians (meaning Anglicans) need not be anxious about the Qur'an because it could not shake their faith. Neither should the "Batch" of Cromwellians be anxious either: for they had already wandered into the "darkenesse" of heresy, and the "Alcoran" was no more than another heresy to which they might subscribe. Like the "Turks," these Cromwellians were so religiously insecure that they prohibited the publication of dissenting views: had the King been alive, Ross implied, he would not have worried about the translation, and Britons would not have had to fear the text because their religion, under their devout King, would have been well protected. Now that the King was dead, there was fear that the Qur'an, backed by the powerful Empire of the Ottomans, might just seize on the national turmoil and decentralization and implant itself in English society.

Once Ross finished with his introduction, he turned to the text of the Qur'an. And here he followed the translation of du Ryer closely, although he added a table of contents and chapter numbers at the beginning of each sura – neither of which du Ryer had done. He translated word for word from the French, including the marginal references to Erpenius, "Gelaldin" and "Kitab el-tenoir" – the latter two the most frequently cited

[23] *The Alcoran of Mahomet*, A3 r.

sources by du Ryer. There were a few marginalia which Ross added of his own – exclamations like "O Mahomet," or explanations as when in chapter 24 the text read "Catamite" and Ross interjected: "Is a man or boy kept unlawfully."[24] Throughout, his style was uncouth and his tone was harsh and uncompromising.

Ross's chief departure from du Ryer, however, occurred at the end of the translation. Ross appended two units on "The Life and Death of Mahomet" and "A needful Caveat or Admonition for them who desire to know what use may be made of, or if there be danger in reading the Alcoran: By Alexander Ross." These were added to the text after it had been printed but before it had gone to the binders: for the units do not continue the pagination of the Qur'an and consist of a separate set of sheets. Evidently, between his brush with the law and the final appearance of the translation in bookstores, Ross decided to add these units in order to further vindicate himself. The "Life" consists of an assembly of legendary stories about the Prophet which allowed Ross free reign for his anti-Muslim bigotry, while the "Caveat" served him in further attacking the Cromwellian authorities:

> I know the publishing of the Alcoran may be to some dangerous and scandalous; dangerous to the Reader, scandalous to the higher Powers, who notwithstanding have cleared themselves by disliking the publishing, and questioning the publishers thereof: but for the danger, I will deliver in these ensuing Propositions my opinion.[25]

Ross introduced 18 propositions in which he repeated the same thesis he had made in "The Translator to the Christian Reader": that reading "Alcoran" does not constitute any "danger" for those who are sound in their faith. But then he asked sarcastically: why should the "higher Powers" want to suppress an Arabic text while the Arabic language in which the Qur'an is written is "so much learned and taught in Schools and Christian Universities"? Wasn't Arabic being taught so that "by it we may come to the knowledge of Mahomet's Laws and Religion"? Ross was aware of the extent of Arabic studies in France and Holland (England's two main rivals in commerce with the Muslim Empire), and he seized this opportunity to ridicule the Cromwellian censorship which was prohibiting the reading of material from a civilization with which England had traded and battled for over a century. In proposition 15, he stated that there were passages in the Qur'an and there were cultural and religious features of Islam that would make the sectaries at the helm of the English state "blush":

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

[25] This and subsequent quotations from the "Caveat" are unpaginated.

> And indeed if Christians will but diligently read and observe the Laws and Histories of the Mahometans, they may blush to see how zealous they are in the works of devotion, piety, and charity, how devout, cleanly, and reverend in their Mosques, how obedient to their Priests, that even the great Turk himself will attempt nothing without consulting his Mufti . . . how constantly do they observe their Fasts from morning till night a whole month together; how loving and charitable the Muslemans are to each other, and how careful of strangers, may be seen by their Hospitals, both for the Poor and the Travelers.

The passage is a scathing attack on the new regime in England. For it bluntly shows that the Muslims are morally superior, in all respects, to the regicides: while the Muslims practice piety, the English revolutionaries have been impious in their deviation from the national church; while the Muslims are clean and reverend in their mosques, the English sectaries have desecrated churches and cathedrals; while the Muslims are obedient to their "priests," the revolutionaries have rejected and insulted their parish priests and have followed their own self-declared prophets and visionaries; while even the Sultan heeds the advice of the Mufti, the English regicides are treating themselves as political and religious authorities; while Muslims care for the poor, poverty and disease are rampant in England and Wales.[26] There was no doubt in Ross's mind as to why the English revolutionaries had not wanted the Qur'an to be published: it was because the Islamic text gave the lie to the revolutionaries and showed how inferior they were compared to the Muslims in their piety and social order. The censorship against "Alcoran" had not been intended to protect English society from Islam, but to shield the regicides from an unflattering comparison with the Muslims. For Ross, the Qur'an was a suitable text with which to attack the Commonwealth authority.

Notwithstanding the inaccuracy of the translation or the bigotry of the translator, "The Alcoran of Mahomet" became a popular text in England. Although there was only one edition of it in 1649, there were two imprints – attesting to its wide circulation. It is true that the translation did not cause "a change in the religious views of a single Englishman," as Samuel Gardiner observed in his magisterial *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*:[27] any change would have been quite surprising given the poor quality of the text. But there is ample evidence to show that writers and

[26] There were many writers in the late 1640s who complained about poverty in the nation after the Civil Wars. For a general study of the social and religious impact of the English revolution, see Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution* (London: Sphere Books Ltd., 1969), chapter 2 and *The World Turned Upside Down* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1975).

[27] Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, 4 vols. (New York: AMS Press, repr. 1965), vol. 1, p. 56.

thinkers from all sectors in English society read Ross's "Alcoran" and alluded to it. Samuel Hartlib recorded in his *Ephemerides* of January–June 1649 a reference to what must have been the Ross translation (although he did not mention Ross's name): "Alcoran is translated into English out of French by a Friend of Mr. Wahl's who also hath translated other bookes out of French."[28] On May 2, 1649, John Durie also referred to it: "The Alcoran is come forth in English."[29] Significantly, neither mentioned Ross and neither commented on the quality of the text: possibly, they had heard about the text as a result of the controversy surrounding its publication but had not yet seen it. The Independent theologian Nathaniel Homes, however, read it carefully and in his 1653/1654 *The Resurrection Revealed*, he cited verses from the "English Edition": "Chap. 3. twice, 4. thrice. In 5.10,13. 14 15, 16, 18, 19."[30] A year earlier, 1652, a refutation of Islam, originally written by Johannes Andreas "the Moor" in the late fifteenth century, was translated by Joshua Notstock who warned in his "Preface to the translation" that there were differences between his Qur'anic citations and those in Ross's because the available texts of the Qur'an were not uniform concerning the number of Suras ("Azoara"):

> These Azoara are made fewer, or more, according to severall editions; and hence it is that the quotations out of the Alchoran, mentioned in this following discourse, do not answer the Azoara of the Alchoran as we have it in English.[31]

In 1680, the Quaker George Fox read Ross's translation carefully and quoted extensively from it in his "debate" with the "King of Algiers."[32] So popular was the demand for the text that in 1688, another edition of Ross's "Alcoran" was published in England: it was the same text exactly, but the introductory material was rearranged, and the "Life" and the "Caveat" which had been at the end of the book were now moved to the opening: they were elevated from a postscript to an introduction that would provide the reader with the proper outlook by which to approach Islam.[33] In 1698, the New England preacher Cotton Mather quoted from the "words of the Alcoran, (or Turkish BIBLE)" as they had been translated by Ross.[34] By

[28] *HP*, 31/22/9B. [29] *HP*, 4/1/25A–28B.

[30] Nathaniel Homes, *The Resurrection Revealed* (London, 1654), p. 418: "I finde more in that then in the English Edition, not onely upon report, but by the Epitome of the Alcoran in Latine translated out of the Arab. into Latine by Robert Ketenensis an English-man." The reference to the Latin text is to *Alcorani Epitome Robert Ketenense Anglo interprete*.

[31] Joshua Notstock, *The Confusion of Muhamed's Sect, or A Confutation of the Turkish Alcoran* (London: H. Blunden, 1652), C1 v.

[32] See my "Some Notes on George Fox and Islam," *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, 55 (1989): 271–276.

[33] *The Alcoran of Mahomet* (London: Randal Taylor, 1688).

[34] Cotton Mather, *A Pastoral Letter to the English Captives in Africa from New England* (Boston, 1698), p. 8.

the end of the seventeenth century, the Qur'an in English had crossed the Atlantic.[35]

While Ross's translation was circulating, other versions of the Qur'an were also being consulted. John Locke and Lancelot Addison read "L'Alcoran" in du Ryer's French translation; Thomas Calvert (1606–1679) read it in the "Latine Tongue" along with various "Mahumetan Volumes of Divinity"; and so did Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury.[36] The Arabic Professor at Oxford Edward Pococke translated Abul Faraj's life of the Prophet Mohammad from Arabic, thereby providing an excellent source on the Qur'an and its history for English readers;[37] indeed, this was the first piece of scholarship published by an English Arabist from an Arabic source (although the author was a Christian). In his diary, John Evelyn wrote on July 11, 1654 that while at Oxford, he saw a copy of "the whole Alcoran, written on one large sheet of calico,"[38] and Oliver Cromwell (and/or his Secretary John Milton) showed familiarity with the Qur'an in a letter to the ruler of Algiers in June 1656. Cromwell expected his addressee to abide by the commercial agreements between their two countries because of the nature of Muslim religion: "We now at this time require the like of you who have declar'd your selves hitherto in all things to be men loving righteousnesse, hating wrong, & observing faithfulnesse in covenant."[39] The last words repeat the exact description of Islam in the Qur'an as a religion that advocates righteousness and repudiates wrongdoing. In 1664, Thomas Smith turned to the Qur'an and to Arab histories in search of information regarding the origin of the Druids,[40] and in the mid-1670s, Francis Barton tried in Istanbul to acquire an Arabic or Persian copy of the Qur'an in order to have direct access to the original text[41] – but was unsuccessful because of Muslim unwillingness to allow non-Muslims even to touch the holy book. In the late 1680s, George Savile, the

[35] For further allusions to Ross's translation, see my "Alexander Ross and the First English Translation of the Qur'an," forthcoming in *The Muslim World*.

[36] John Harrison and Peter Laslett, *The Library of John Locke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 2nd edn.; Lancelot Addison, *The First State of Mahumedism or, an Account of the Author and Doctrines of that Imposture* (1687), p. 3; Thomas Calvert, *The blessed Jew*, p. 218; Thomas Tenison, *Of Idolatry: A Discourse in which is endeavoured A Declaration of, Its Distinction from Superstition* (1678), pp. 412–413.

[37] Edward Pococke, *Specimen Historiae Arabum, sive Gregorii Abul Faraji* (1650), pp. 1–28. For a detailed discussion of Pococke's career, see Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, chapters 5 and 6.

[38] *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. III, p. 108. The entry continues: "... the Arabic Character [was] so exquisitely written, as no printed letter comes neere it." The text had been offered to the Bodleian in 1653.

[39] *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, 4 vols., ed. W. C. Abbott (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937–1947), vol. IV, pp. 184–185.

[40] Thomas Smith, *Syntagma De Druidum Moribus ac Institutis* (1664), *passim*. Smith included quotations from the Qur'an in Arabic.

[41] Addison, *The First State of Mahumedism*, p. 50.

Marquis of Halifax, who owned a copy of du Ryer's French version of "Alcoran," quoted from sura 2:219,[42] and in 1699, John Bradley, minister of Alrewas, writing to demonstrate the truthfulness of Christianity, admitted that he had not bothered to examine any Islamic text except "the Alcoran."[43] From sectary to antiquarian to Lord Protector, the Qur'an was a text widely consulted and quoted: it had legitimacy for addressing not only Muslims overseas but Christians in England and the rest of the British Isles. The Qur'an had become a text on a Briton's reading list.

Associated with "Alcoran" was the Arabic civilization in which Islam had first developed. This civilization had interacted with Christendom throughout the medieval period and the Renaissance: Arabic translations and interpretations of Aristotle and Arabic developments in mathematics, astronomy and medicine – the three areas in which the Arabs had excelled – had left their mark on the evolution of European thought. From the beginning of the Renaissance, both English and continental orientalists such as Robert Wakefield, Richard Argentine and others had noted how important Arabic was for the study of other Semitic languages as well as of areas of learning in which the Arabs had made original contributions. In the seventeenth century, English and Scottish writers frequently praised the usefulness of Arabic to statesman and trader, traveler and scholar alike.[44] Such was the interest in Arabic that Bedwell may well have been the Arabist to introduce the Arabic font to England (*O.E.D.*). Thomas Greaves, who lectured in astronomy and mathematics at Oxford in the 1630s, dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the Chancellor of the University a speech on the "vtilitate et praesentia" of Arabic studies.[45] Pleased at the establishment of the Chair of Arabic at the University of Oxford in the previous year, Greaves applauded the Archbishop, who was known, along with King Charles I, to collect Arabic and Persian manuscripts.[46]

[42] "A Letter to a Dissenter, upon Occasion of his Majesties Late Gracious Declaration of Indulgence," in *The Works of George Savile*, 3 vols. ed. Mark N. Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), vol. I, p. 251.

[43] John Bradley, *An Impartial View of the Truth of Christianity: with the History of the Life and Miracles of Apollonius Tyanaeus* (1699), pp. 228–229.

[44] In chapter 4 of *William Bedwell*, Hamilton presents an extensive account of the interest in Arabic in early seventeenth-century England; see also *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), p. 192; James Howell, *A New Volume of Familiar Letters, Partly Philosophical, Political, Historical. The Third Edition, with Additions* (1655), p. 87.

[45] Thomas Greaves, *De Linguae Arabicae vtilitate et Praestantia Oratio Oxoniі habita Iul. 19, 1637* (1639). In this speech, Greaves listed the various areas of learning in which the Arabs excelled and which were essential for the curriculum: Arabic language, medicine, mathematics, historiography, prosody and other disciplines. See chapter 6 in Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, for a full discussion of Greaves.

[46] On the King's collection, see R. W. Ferrier, "Charles I and the Antiquities of Persia: The Mission of Nicholas Wilford," *Iran*, 8 (1970): 51–56.

Sir Kenelm Digby, wrote Samuel Hartlib in his *Ephemerides* in 1634, was a "great student for the Arabick Language,"[47] while Thomas Smith communicated in Arabic with "Mr. Wheelock ... & other friends at Cambridge."[48] In 1648, Hartlib observed that "Jackson the Grocer hath learnt to write Arabick and hath an excellent dexterity in it."[49] When *The Divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus* was translated into English in 1650, the title page announced that the text was taken "out of the Arabick." "J. F.", the author of the preface, assured the readers that the book was the oldest in the world, "being written some hundreds of years before Moses his time," and that the "Original (as far as is known to us) is Arabic."[50] The Arab-Islamic legacy was felt in the privileged environment of the universities as well as in the subculture of the British populace.

Meanwhile, in the writings of Rosicrucians, alchemists and astrologers, as well as in the controversies of English and Scottish clerics and in the curriculum of pupils, as the diary of John Evelyn shows on May 13, 1661,[51] Arabic texts, names and cultural imports continually appeared. Two years earlier, in July 1659, Henry Oldenburg enviously mentioned to Samuel Hartlib the numerous Arabic manuscripts in Spain (the Library of the Escorial had acquired a vast collection of Arabic manuscripts in 1572) and Persia:

> They say, there is at the Escurial in Spaine, a braue Library, which belonged formerly to the king of Marocco; but was carried thither by the fraud of a Christian man of warre, to whom the said king had entrusted it, when he was forced to fly out of his kingdom, for to transport it into France, whither he thought to retire. Olearius in his voyage of the Levant affirms, that at Ardebil in Persia, the city of the sepulchers of the Persian kings, there is in a vault a huge and excellent library consisting all in manuscripts, most Arabia, and some Persian and Turkish, bound in Spanish leather, couered with lames of gold and siluer, most historians and philosophers.[52]

[47] *HP*, 29/2/10A. [48] *Ibid.*, 15/6/27A. [49] *Ibid.*, 31/22/39B.

[50] *The Divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus in XVII. Books*, trans. Doctor Everard (1650). The debate about the oldest language preoccupied linguists and theologians in Christendom for centuries. In England, Robert Wakefield, the first English Hebraist, had argued in 1524 that Hebrew was the language used in the Garden of Eden, and that from that language, others had evolved, including Arabic. In his treatise *On the Three Languages*, he advocated Hebrew studies, but also insisted on the importance of Arabic. The fact that many Jewish theologians knew Arabic and relied on it to explain some of the Hebrew terms was, in his opinion, an excellent reason why that language should be mastered by Christians. Furthermore, there was a great deal of knowledge to be learned from Arabic sources, and Wakefield specifically pointed to the writings of "Maimonides, Alfarabi, Algazel, Abensina, Abenrusd." There were wonders in Arabic that even Hebrew could not match, and only by mastering Arabic could Christians penetrate "the secrets of the Aramaeans and the Arabs". Robert Wakefield, *On the Three Languages* (1524), ed. and trans. G. Lloyd Jones (New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts, 1989), pp. 206, 210, 216.

[51] "I heard, & saw such Exercises at the Election of Scholars at Westminster Schoole, to be sent to the Universitie, both in Lat: Gr: Heb: Arabic &c in Theames & extemporary Verses, as wonderfully astonish'd me, in such young striplings," *The Diary*, vol. III, p. 287. See the references to Richard Busby, headmaster of the school, in P. M. Holt, *A Seventeenth-Century Defender of Islam: Henry Stubbe (1632–1676) and his Book* (London: Dr. Williams's Trust, 1972), pp. 11–12. "[B]etween 1610 and 1660, the possibility of knowing Arabic well increased in England," Hamilton, *William Bedwell*, p. 95. See also Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, pp. 265–269 for Arabic at Westminster School.

Edward Pococke introduced Arabic verse to the pages of seventeenth-century English books: he composed poems in Arabic to mark major national occasions – the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 and the death of Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester, late in that same year – and thereby made the Arabic alphabet and script familiar to the educated reader and made the language amenable to royal patronage.[53] Pococke was urging the University of Oxford, which had published these poems, to press ahead in the publication of Arabic material – since in this period, there were still more Arabic manuscripts available to the scholar than Arabic printed texts. In 1661, he translated into Latin the Arabic poem *Lamiato'l Ajam* and added extensive notes which made "discernable" to John Worthington, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, "the lofty strain of the eastern nations."[54] Pococke admired the Arabic legacy and succeeded in generating scholarly interest in that legacy: Samuel Clarke, the "archetypographus" at the University of Oxford, who published Pococke's translation of the poem, added to it his own treatise on Arabic prosody, *Scientia Metrica & Rythmica*, while the Cambridge Professor of Mathematics, Isaac Barrow, concurred that mastery of Arabic was necessary for the advancement of learning.[55]

Modern historians have not recognized the over-arching impact of the Arabic civilization on England in this period. Byron Porter Smith identified Islamic elements in the literature of the Renaissance and the seventeenth century but concluded that it was "unusual for any allusion to be made to the role played by the Arabs in transmitting the science and

[52] *HP*, 39/3/25A.

[53] *Britannia Rediviva: a collection of verses by members of the University on the Restoration of Charles II* (Oxford, 1660): the poem is in seven verses and is accompanied by a Latin translation; *Epidecia Academiae Oxoniensis: a collection of verses by members of the University on the death of Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester* (Oxford, 1660): the poem is in six lines and is accompanied by a Latin translation. Pococke's were the only Arabic poems in the two volumes: see my "Edward Pococke: Awl Ingleezi yaktub shi'ran bil-'arabiyya" [The First Englishman to Write Arabic Verse], *Al-Arabi*, 334 (1987): 64–67 for an examination of the poems.

[54] *Lamiato'l Ajam: Carmen Tograi, Poetae Arabis Doctissimi* (Oxford, 1661); *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*, 2 vols., ed. James Crossley (The Chetham Society, 1867), vol. II, p. 113. The poem was translated into English in 1758 as "The Traveler."

[55] Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration* (London: Duckworth, 1975), p. 134. See also Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, pp. 226–229 for a survey of Clarke's careers.

philosophy of Greece to the nations of western Europe."[56] Bernard Lewis stated that until the end of the eighteenth century, the European "interest in Arabic was almost exclusively scholarly" and "rarely" affected in any "practical" way the lives and views of continental and English men and women.[57] "In the vastly extended world picture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries," wrote R. W. Southern, "the existence of Islam was no longer the challenge to the West that it had seemed to be in the Middle Ages."[58]

There is little doubt that in the seventeenth century, Western Christendom was beginning a revolution in science, technology and political institutions that eventually led to its supremacy over the three Muslim Empires in Turkey, Persia and India. But the Arabic civilization which had been integrated by the Ottomans continued to engage Britons of differing intellectual and social backgrounds. Both Oxford and Cambridge students – and in the 1630s, Chairs of Arabic were established at both Universities[59] – studied the Arabic branches of Islamic learning, for, as one writer explained, Arabic was the language in which the "Bookes of Physicke, Astrologie, Rhetorike" were written.[60] While still a young man in the 1630s, John Milton described in "Prolusion 7" how the Arabs had forged their

[56] Byron Porter Smith, *Islam in English Literature*, ed. S. B. Bushrui and Anahid Melikian (repr. New York: Caravan Books, 1977, first publ. 1939), p. 42. See also Louis Wann, "The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama," *Modern Philology*, 12 (1915): 168–169: Elizabethan dramatists treated Islam as a domain of "war, conquest, fratricide, lust, and treachery" because "actual facts" justified them in so doing; Warner G. Rice, "Turks, Moors, and Persians in Elizabethan Drama" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1925): "The cruelty of the Turk became – not unjustly – in Elizabethan times a by-word," p. 357n. For the surveys of the Islamic impact on England, see Samuel C. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*; M. I. el-Mowafy, "Arabia in English Literature: 1650–1750," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wales, 1961); John Draper, *Orientalia and Shakespeare* (New York: Vantage Press, 1977), pp. 129–183 and D'Amico, *The Moor*. For studies with some reference to the Arab-Islamic legacy, see Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), pp. 49–54; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1978, first publ. 1971), pp. 336, 428.

[57] Bernard Lewis, "Translation from Arabic," in *Islam and the West*, p. 64.

[58] R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 12.

[59] For Arabic studies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see P. M. Holt, "The Treatment of Arab History by Prideaux, Ockley and Sale," in *Studies in the History of the Near East* (London: Frank Cass, 1973), pp. 51–63; Shereen Khairallah, "Arabic Studies in Europe with an Accent on England," *The Near East School of Theology: Theological Review*, 9 (1988): 6–27; J. Brugman, "Arabic Scholarship" in *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century: An Exchange of Learning*, eds. Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), pp. 202–215; Hans Daiber, "The Reception of Islamic Philosophy at Oxford in the 17th Century: The Pococks' (Father and Son) Contribution to the Understanding of Islamic Philosophy in Europe," in *The Introduction of Arabic Philosophy into Europe*, eds. Charles E. Butterworth and Blake Andree Kessel (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), pp. 65–82.

[60] *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. IX, p. 114. The quotation continues: "But Averroes, Algazeles, Abu-Becer, Alfarabius (called of the Moslemans the second Philosopher) Mohamed Ben-Isaac, and Mohamed Ben-Abdillah adorned the Arabike."

imperial civilization not only by the sword but by the pen: "I must not, however, omit to mention that the Saracens . . . enlarged their empire as much by the study of liberal culture as by force of arms."[61] Although it is not clear how much Milton's Semitic studies included Arabic, to the "Lady of Christ's," the Arabs provided the model which he hoped England would emulate – power not just through military force but through originative imagination. When Abraham Cowley praised Thomas Hobbes, he linked the English thinker to the Arabic-writing philosophers, "Averroes, Avicenna, Avempace" who had contributed "many excellent Books" on Aristotle: to evaluate Hobbes properly, there was need for the breadth of the Arab-Islamic context.[62] Sir Thomas Browne cited Avicenna and Averroes frequently, and so did Robert Burton who added "Rhasis,"[63] while Johannes Baptista van Helmont (1577–1644) and his son, who left their mark on English alchemy and itrochemistry, were versed in the writings of Avicenna.[64] Robert Boyle studied Arabic sciences in order to be able to challenge the "groundless traditional conceptions" in contemporary learning.[65] In the seventeenth century, Arabic became an adjunct to a complete university education and, as P. M. Holt has stated, the hallmark of the enlightened Englishman – particularly the man of science.[66]

The value of the Arabic legacy in science was widely acknowledged, and so too was the Arabic element in the *prisca sapientia*, that primal wisdom which started with Hermes Trismegistus and informed subsequent Mediterranean and Euro-Asiatic civilizations. This concept of *prisca sapientia* was central to the Renaissance Florentine Neoplatonists who influenced English thought in the seventeenth century. Pico della Mirandola's *Oration on the Dignity of Man* in 1487 opened with a statement showing the congruity between Hermes Trismegistus and "Abdala the Saracen"; his friend and mentor Marsilio Ficino traced the "ancient tradition" from Zoroaster and Hermes to Alfarabi and Avicenna and the Italian Neoplatonists of the

[61] John Milton, "Prolusion 7," in *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, 7 vols., gen. ed. Don M. Wolfe (New Haven London: Yale University Press, 1953–1983), vol. 1, p. 299. For an extensive study of this topic in Milton, see Eid Dahiyat, *John Milton and the Arab-Islamic Culture* (Amman, 1987).

[62] Abraham Cowley, *Poems*, ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), p. 190–191, "To Mr Hobs."

[63] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Holbrook Jackson, part 3, sect. 4, pp. 312, 378, 384.

[64] Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), vol. VII, pp. 218–220.

[65] Sarah Searight, *The British in the Middle East* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), p. 65.

[66] P. M. Holt, "The Study of Arabic Historians in Seventeenth-Century England: The Background and the Work of Edward Pococke," in *Studies in the History of the Near East*, p. 30. "Arabic was valued as the key to a treasure-house of knowledge, supplementing the inheritance from Greece and Rome."

Renaissance.[67] In the history of the *prisca sapientia*, whether among the Italian Neoplatonists or among their English disciples, there was a distinct place for the "matter of Araby," so much so that the English doctor William Salmon included among the authorities of his *Practical Physick* (1692) the eighth-century alchemist "Geber Arabs" (Jabir ibn Hayyan), and he placed Geber's writings third in the sequence which began with Hermes and ended with the English medieval scientists Roger Bacon and George Ripley. Although he was writing late in the century, Salmon still consulted the corpus of Arabic science and pseudo-science and translated into English the *Summa* of Geber along with other Muslim writings.[68]

The role of the Arab-Islamic legacy in the transmission of the *prisca sapientia* to Christian Europe was undeservedly ignored by Martin Bernal in his *Black Athena*, a revisionist evaluation of the Egypto-Semitic roots of "western" civilization. In his discussion of Hermeticism and Rosicrucianism in European history, Bernal ignored the evidence that links the Arab-Islamic legacy to the *prisca sapientia* whose origins he had located in Egypt. Bernal blamed the "twin peaks of anti-Semitism in the 1890s and again in the 1920s and 30s" for the "Extreme" Aryan Model which directed western civilization away from Egypt and toward Greece: his purpose in *Black Athena* was to redress the balance in favor of the Semitic as against the Aryan/Greek origin of knowledge.[69] In so doing, however, Bernal ignored the work of W. Montgomery Watt, who, in his *The Influence of Islam on Medieval Europe* (1972), had argued for the superiority of the Arab-Islamic legacy over the classical "roots" of western civilization. Watt showed that the Arab-Islamic legacy was so extensive in medieval and Renaissance European civilization that twentieth-century western scholars, unwilling to grant Islam the recognition it deserves, have reacted by dismissing the legacy altogether and by exaggerating instead the Greek and Roman heritage.[70]

[67] Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, trans. A. Robert Caponigri (Washington, DC: Regnery Gateway, 1989), p. 3; Paul O. Kristeller, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*, trans. Virginia Conant (New York, Columbia University Press, 1964, first publ. 1943), pp. 26–27.

[68] Salmon admired the "Arabian King" who was "throughly learned in the Mysteries of Nature, but chiefly in this Philosophick Art": William Salmon, *Medicina Practica or a Practical Physick Shewing the Method of Curing the most Usual Diseases happening to Humane Bodies* (1692), H3 r. See in particular his *Gebri Arabis Summa: the sum of Geber Arabs, collected and digested, by William Salmon; Artephii Liber Secretus. Artephius translated out of the Latin-copy, (printed anno 1659), into English, by William Salmon; Kalidis Persici Secreta Alchymiae. Written originally in Hebrew, and translated thence into Arabick, and out of Arabick into Latin: now faithfully rendered into English, by William Salmon*. All the above works appeared together in 1707, William Salmon, *Medicina Practica*.

[69] Martin Bernal, *Black Athena*, 2 vols. (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1987), vol. 1, p. 2.

[70] W. Montgomery Watt, *The Influence of Islam on Medieval Europe* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1972) p. 84. In the late seventeenth century, the French traveler the Sieur du Mont confirmed the superiority of Egypt to Rome: *A New Voyage*, pp. 211 ff.

The Arab-Islamic legacy informed not only the *prisca sapientia*, but the *prisca sapientia*'s Hermetic, Rosicrucian and alchemical offshoots, for Arabic had been the linguistic medium through which much of the Hermetic *corpus* had been transmitted to Europe in the medieval period.[71] It was because of translations from Arabic into Latin that the Arabs had found their place in the Hermetic legacy and in the Christian theory of the *prisca theologia*. In England and the rest of Europe, the continuum between Hermes and the Arab-Islamic legacy was frequently noted, especially as interest in esoteric sciences and "utopian" societies grew: orientalists and theologians, astrologers and Rosicrucians all turned to the Arabic legacy, and while some of them believed that the Hermetic/Egyptian origin of human knowledge had been partly transmitted through "Araby" to Christendom, others believed that the origin of the *prisca sapientia* was "Araby" itself. In their view, the *prisca sapientia* was actually a *prisca sapientia arabica*.

ARABIC AND THE *PRISCA SAPIENTIA*

In 1615, the Rosicrucian *Fama Fraternitatis* by Johann Valentin Andreae (and/or the circle around him) was translated into English. The treatise told of the hero "C.R." who went on a quest for esoteric knowledge in the Holy Land. On his way, he stopped in "Damasco, minding from thence to go to Jerusalem." While in the former city, he became "acquainted with the Wise Men of Damascus in Arabia, and beheld what great wonders they wrought, and how Nature was discovered unto them." He was so overwhelmed by the knowledge revealed to him that "Jerusalem was not so much now in his mind as Damascus." Eager to learn more, he "made a bargain with the Arabians, that they should carry him for a certain sum of money to Damascus." Upon his arrival there, the "wise received him" and

[71] The twelfth-century treatise, *Picatrix*, well demonstrates the influence of Arabic thought on Renaissance Europe and on the Florentine Neoplatonists in particular. In its Latin translation, this text on magic and talismans was known to Pico, Pico's cousin and other figures pursuing Hermetic studies. Although it was never published and circulated only in manuscript, many of its signs became standard symbols in alchemical experiments and illustrations. The author of *Picatrix* drew on the sequence of knowledge that had started with Hermes, continued through Plato and Aristotle, then to Zoroastrian, Hindu and Sabean religions, and culminated in Arabic. He emphasized not only a continuum but also a congruity of knowledge from the Greeks to the Arabs, passing through all the other cultures. When addressing Venus, the author stated that he would call the planet by all its names: "in Arabic, Utarid; in Persian, Teer; in Latin, Haroos; in Greek, Hermes; and in Indian, Bidda." It was because of this continuum in *Picatrix* and in other treatises like it that Arabic became part of the *prisca sapientia*. See "*Picatrix*"; *Das Ziel Des Weisen*, ed. Hellmut Ritter (Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1933), p. 222 (my translation). Although, as Frances Yates has correctly noted, the Latin translation of *Picatrix* did not include the complete Arabic text (Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, pp. 49–57), it retained all the units which dealt with magic and which relied on the continuum of talismanic knowledge from Hermes to the medieval Arabic period.

"showed him other secrets"; there, he also learned "better the Arabian tongue . . . [and] his physics, and his mathematics, whereof the world hath just cause to rejoice."[72]

Although there is in the German original an apparent distinction between Damascus and Damcar – C.R. arrives in the first city and then travels to the second – the two names are used interchangeably in the text. The English translation did not correct the confusion and repeated that C.R. sought learning not in Jerusalem but in an environment within reach of Damascus. When Thomas Vaughan edited the translation of the *Fama* in 1650, he noted in his "Preface" that the text "hath indeed mistaken Damascus for Damcar in Arabia," but he kept the names of the cities as they appeared, confirming thereby their interchangeability.[73] In 1656, another Rosicrucian text was published in London consisting of a translation of Michael Maierus's (Maier) Latin *Themis Aurea* which had first been published in 1618. Again, the treatise alluded to the Arabic origin of knowledge although there was no reference to Damascus in it. Knowledge, stated the treatise, was brought "first from Arabia into Germany" and the "Book called M. of which there is so much mention in their Fama, [was] translated out of Arabicke into Latine." Rosicrucians recognized Arabia as the source of their inspiration.[74]

What is significant about the references to Damascus/Damcar is that the Arabian city superseded Jerusalem in importance: at the very outset, the *Fama* turned away from the holy city of Christianity and located the enlightenment of the "most godly and highly-illuminated Father" in the city of "great wonders" – Damascus/Damcar. For the seventeenth-century English reader of the *Fama*, such importance credited to Damascus was neither far-fetched nor fabulous: Damascus projected a wonder to which Britons widely attested. It was in Damascus that Marlowe's Tamburlaine wanted to "make the point / That shall begin the perpendicular" (4.4.79–80): Damascus was to become the center of Tamburlaine's new world and its meridian to become the first meridian. In 1614, William Lithgow cited the Turkish similarity between Damascus and paradise,[75]

[72] Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (Frogmore, St. Albans: Paladin, 1975, first publ. 1972), pp. 283–284.

[73] Thomas Vaughan, *The Works of Thomas Vaughan*, ed. A. E. Waite (London: Theosophical Publishing House, 1919), p. 341.

[74] Count Michael Maierus (1565–1622), *Themis Aurea: The Laws of the Fraternity of the Roste Crosse* (1656), p. 22.

[75] Thomas Lithgow, *A Most Delectable . . . Discourse*, L3 r, who was probably echoing William Biddulph, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. VIII, p. 286: "The Turkes say, that their Prophet Mahomet was once at Damascus, and that when he saw the pleasant situation of it, and beheld the stately prospect of it, excelling all others that ever hee saw before; refused to enter into the Citie, lest the pleasantnesse thereof should ravish him, and move him there to settle an Earthly Paradise."

and Walter Raleigh in his *History* described Damascus as "the Citie of Joy or gladnesse; and the House of pleasure," which not only cosmographers admired but the prophets of the Scriptures too.[76] One writer from the twelfth century cited by Purchas saw

> a wall of Glasse built by the workmanship of the Magicians, distinguished with holes equall in number with the dayes of the Sun, so that every day the Sun entring in at every hole goeth thorow the twelve degrees fitted to the houres of the day, and so sheweth the time of the yeare and day.[77]

Damascus, in the eye of the astronomer or the alchemist, the pilgrim or the wonder-seeker was a city of marvels.[78] Indeed, Damascus was quite important in Renaissance thought: for it was viewed as a model city, a place that could serve as an exemplar for the European city. In the *Confessio Fraternitatis* (1615), the author described Damascus/Damcar as inhabited by "understanding men" who followed "a politick order" quite different "from the other Arabians." Damcar was a city of rational society, and it had a government that could educate Christendom. It was a city where reason prevailed over passion and where all esoteric mysteries would be proclaimed at the resounding of the "Trumpet."[79] Damascus evoked in the Renaissance imagination associations with secret oriental knowledge and became a metaphor for wisdom, as Marsilio Ficino shows in a letter written in April 1477:

> What now Phoebus? What do you most want me to do? You will send me, I suppose, to Ananias at Damascus, whither you once sent the blind Saul, where he immediately regained his lost sight. However, I wish that Ananias for me, Phoebes, might be that child of yours, victorious Medici, once born in your morning rays. I have just set out for Damascus, my guide for the journey being that very son of the Platonic sun.[80]

The restoration of Saul's sight in Damascus had given the city a symbolic function in Christian imagination: Damascus in Arabia signified a holy enlightenment. This was a view that was repeated by travelers and orientalists alike: after describing the geographical location of Arabia, Purchas added that "Arabia signifieth Holy," a view that had been

[76] Walter Raleigh, *The History of the World* (1614), p. 338. For other references to Damascus, see the chapter on "Syria" in Robert Ralston Cawley, *The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama* (New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1966; originally publ. 1938), pp. 162 ff.

[77] *The Peregrinations of Benjamin the sonne of Jonas* in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. VIII, p. 552.

[78] See for other allusions to Damascus, Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, pp. 81–82.

[79] A. E. Waite, *The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross* (London: L. W. Rider & Son Lmtd., 1887, repr. 1924), pp. 90–91.

[80] *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, 3 vols., trans. Language Department of the School of Economic Science (London, New York: Gingko Press, 1985), vol. III, p. 15.

foreshadowed by *Batman vppon Bartholome* a few decades earlier: Arabia was "the holy Province . . . blessed and holy,"[81] Furthermore, and echoing the French Arabist Joseph Scaliger, Purchas linked the holiness of Arabia with the wise men who attended the nativity of Jesus and who "came out of Arabia": from Arabia came an esoteric enlightenment that was exclusive to it.[82] When Robert Fludd described the travels of Plato, Pythagoras and Hippocrates in quest of learning, he specifically mentioned, among the places they visited, the land of Araby.[83] Both Damascus and Arabia were firmly associated with knowledge, both esoteric and exoteric.

For the Rosicrucians, Arabia provided the source for the knowledge of alchemy – that spiritual (and material) quest for gold which attracted numerous seekers in seventeenth-century England. Since the Arab-Islamic legacy was rich in alchemical treatises, Arabia became linked in English imagination with prominent figures in the history of alchemy – chiefly Geber, "King of the Arabs," along with the many "Arabians" who appeared in alchemical diagrams and illustrations. The work of "Geber and Haly" (the latter was Ali ibn Abbas al-Majusti, one of the greatest physicians of the tenth century), wrote Eirenaeus Philoponos Philalethes (George Starkey) in *The Marrow of Alchemy* (1654), would fill a book, for the world "rings / with testimonies of them."[84] In John Gower's poem "Upon the Philosophers Stone," translated in the *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* of Elias Ashmole in 1652, Avicenna is praised as one who "founde and wrote and greate partie,/ The practicke of Alconomie."[85] Henry Coley, dedicating in 1676 his *Clavis Astrologiae Elimata* to Elias Ashmole, praised the Arabians, who along with the Egyptians and others, "seemed above other Mortals to be invited by Nature to such Divine Contemplations."[86] Along with these references, there were symbols and images in alchemy that were derived from Arabic sources: "The Serpent of Arabia," the "Arabian

[81] *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), p. 187; *Batman vppon Bartholome, His Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum* (1582), chapter 3.

[82] *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, (1613), p. 192.

[83] Robert Fludd, *The Mosaicall Philosophy* (1659), p. 41. Fludd's name was associated with Arabic writers such as Geber and Omar: see Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, vol. VIII, p. 482.

[84] Eirenaeus Philopones Philalethes, *The Marrow of Alchemy Being an Experimental Treatise, Discovering the secret and most hidden Mystery of the Philosophers Elixer* (1654), p. 7. See the biography of Starkey by William R. Newman, *Gehennical Fire: The Lives of George Starkey an American Alchemist in the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1994).

[85] John Gower, "Upon the Philosophers Stone," in Elias Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum: containing severall poeticall pieces of our famous English philosophers . . . by Elias Ashmole, esq., qui est Mercuriophilus anglicus: the first part* (1652), p. 372; see also Sir George Ripley, "The Compound of Alchymie," in the same book, p. 124.

[86] Henry Coley, *Clavis Astrologiae Elimata: or a Key to the Whole Art of Astrology New Filed and Polished* (1676), the second edition A3 v.

Elixir," and the Phoenix, about which a tragedy was composed by William Lower in 1639 and set in Arabia: *The Phoenix in Her Flames*. Arabia, wrote Lower, is "The garden of the world, the Phoenix else / Had never chose that place above all other / To recreate her self in."[87]

Alchemy was recognized in England as a science that had been mastered by the Arabs. Renaissance treatises on alchemy depended on Arabic sources and often revealed that dependence by including the portrait of Hermes wearing a turban and surrounded by turbaned Arab scientists; nearly always, the portrait of Hermes was associated with that of Geber. In the first half of the seventeenth century, numerous continental alchemical works which had merged Arabic wisdom with Christian theology were translated into English, and in 1678, the alchemical work of Geber, that "Most Famous Arabian Prince and Philosopher," was translated by Richard Russell who had earlier translated the writings of Paracelsus and Raymond Lull. In turning to Geber, "so Ancient and Venerable an Author," Russell was meeting the need for accurate and "honest" information on "Chymical Preparations" in England.[88] The fact that the translation of Geber took place just over a decade after the establishment of the Royal Society is noteworthy: the thrust of "modern" science had not yet reached all levels of English society. Indeed, for Russell and his readers, Geber was a cornerstone of science whose *corpus* was popular both in England as well as on the continent. From France, the author of the work translated into English as *Letters writ by a Turkish spy* (1687) stated that although the books of Geber had been "common" in Paris because doctors relied on them for cures, he had not been able to find a "Translation of them into any of the Common Languages of Europe."[89] If what the "Turkish Spy" reported was true – and one has to be alert to the disguises which the author used – then the works of Geber were being bought instantly upon publication. For Russell's English translation had been reprinted the year before (1686).

Parallel to alchemy was Arab astrology, and it is significant that the only Latin treatise from Arabic that was published in England before 1600 –

[87] William Lower, *The Phoenix in Her Flames: A Tragedy* (London, 1639), D2 v. For other references to Arab alchemists see Edward Kelly's *De Lapide Philosophorum*, which was written in the 1590s, in *The Englishman's Two Excellent Treatises on the Philosopher's Stone, Together with the Theatre of Terrestrial Astronomy* (New York: Samuel Weiser Inc., 3rd edn. 1973, first publ. 1893); Nicholas Flamel, *His Exposition of the Hieroglyphicall Figures (1624)*, ed. Laurinda Dixon (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1994). See for the influence of Flamel, chapter 10 in Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Science and Civilization in Islam* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968/1992), pp. 285 ff.

[88] *The Works of Geber, the Most Famous Arabian Prince and Philosopher, Faithfully Englished by R. R. a Lover of Chymistry* (London, 1678), A2 r–A4 v.

[89] *The first volume of letters writ by a Turkish spy: who lived five and forty years undiscovered at Paris . . . written originally in Arabick; first translated into Italian, afterwards into French, and now into English* (1687), p. 350.

before London became a center of oriental studies – was a text on astrology, Al-Qalandar's *De ueritatibus et predictionibus astrologie*.[90] In the next century, "the most influential vernacular treatise" in astrology was the *Christian Astrologer* by William Lilly, a book that became, as Keith Thomas states, widely popular in England.[91] Lilly demonstrated extensive knowledge of the writings of the "Arabians" and cited the aphorisms of "Albubater" (Abu Bakr al-Hasan ibn al-Khasib, second half of the ninth century), "Haly" (al-Majusti) and "Alkindus" (Alkindi, 801–873). He was indebted to the Arabian sources, particularly to Albumasar (Abu Ma'shar, ninth-century student of Alkindi), whose works in astrology influenced European thought from their first translation into Latin in the twelfth century until the seventeenth-century astronomical discoveries.[92] Frequently, and whenever Lilly met with a difficult calculation, he turned to the Arabic tradition: "It hath been disputed largely amongst the Arabians, who were excellent in the resolution of Horary Questions . . ."[93] Lilly did not always agree with the Arabian conclusions, but it is indicative of his reliance on these sources that he constantly consulted them. Specifically, he seemed to have found "Albubater" indispensable because the latter "was a learned Arabian Physitian, out of whose Writings most of our Astrologicall Aphorismes are collected": indeed, Lilly's text, as Thomas concluded, was "little more than a translation of the medieval Arab astrologer Albohazen Haly filius Abenragel."[94]

Although the scientific spirit of the Baconian revolution was making figures like "Albumasar" comically redundant,[95] the dependence on the Arab-Islamic esoteric sciences remained strong throughout the seventeenth century. The annual editions and publications of Lilly's almanac and other Arabic-based books attest to the importance of astrological and alchemical lore to numerous English men and women in England and the rest of Britain. In the *Catastrophe Magnatum: or The Fall of Monarchie* (1652),

[90] Published in 1578: see Francis J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956), p. 75. About a decade later, appeared Robert Tanner's *A Mirror for Mathematiques: A Golden Gem for Geometricians: A sure safety for Saylers, and an auncient Antiquary for Astronomers and Astrologians* (1587), in which the author made frequent references to the "Arabians."

[91] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 336n.

[92] Richard Lemay, *Abu Ma'shar and Latin Aristotelianism in the Twelfth Century* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1962), pp. xxx–xxxi.

[93] William Lilly, *Christian Astrology Modestly Treated of in Three Books* (1647), p. 166.

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 632; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 336n.

[95] In 1634, a comedy about the Arab alchemist *Albumazar*, written by Thomas Tomkis in 1615, had been "revised and corrected" and presented to the King at Cambridge. It was revived at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1667: [Thomas Tomkis], *Albumazar, A Comedy presented before the Kings Maiesty at Cambridge* (London, 1615, 1634, 1640).

Nicholas Culpeper the herbalist/alchemist praised Lilly and emphasized the continuity between Proclus, Ptolemy and "Albumazar";[96] John Gregory cited from the translations of "Abu Maasciar" and Hali Aben Ragel, and also alluded to the Arabic manuscript in the Bodleian by the historian-astrologer "Abdilphaker."[97] The pursuit of esoteric lore in England ran parallel to the rise and dissemination of Baconian science which, according to P. M. Holt, was one of the main reasons for the decline of interest in the Arab-Islamic legacy in the second half of the seventeenth century.[98] But Arabic "esoteric" learning was not being completely replaced by Baconian experimentation: while Bacon's method was slowly becoming established at the universities, the Arab-Islamic legacy was still being used by English students who had grown accustomed over centuries to an Arabic synthesis of the Graeco-Hellenistic heritage. Even a thinker such as Sir Thomas Browne, who wrote to dispel popular misconceptions (*Pseudodoxia Epidemica* which appeared in six editions between 1646 and 1682), praised "Arabian learning" which was "in a manner all the liberal Sciences, especially the Mathematicks, and natural Philosophy," and, in particular, he praised "Avicenna, Averroes, Avenzoar, Geber, Almanzor and Alhazen";[99] while the orientalist John Greaves consulted a manuscript of "Almagest, as the Arabians term it" and turned to the writings of "Nassir Eddin" – the famous Muslim astronomer – and to Abulfeda – whom John Gregory had praised as the "Prince" of geographers – in his attempt to calculate the latitude of Constantinople and Rhodes.[100] A text deriving its sources from the Greek or Arabic background was still profoundly authoritative to an early modern Englishman seeking advice about his astrological charts or to a woman inquiring about her pregnancy: the "relation of Averroes" about a woman conceiving in the bath was "now common in every mouth," wrote Sir Thomas Browne.[101] Bacon must have had little impact among people

[96] Nicholas Culpeper, *Catastrophe Magnatum: or The Fall of Monarchie* (1652), pp. 10, 18, 21, 38.

[97] Gregory, *Works*, "To the Reader," p. 29 and *passim*.

[98] P. M. Holt, "An Oxford Arabist: Edward Pococke (1604–91)," in *Studies in the History of the Near East*, p. 21.

[99] Sir Thomas Browne, *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne* 3 vols., ed. Charles Sayle (London: Grant Richards, 1904), vol. II, pp. 62–63. In examining human "nativity" and pregnancy, Browne consulted Pythagoras and Avicenna, Hally and Guido Bonatus (*ibid.*, vol. III, p. 177). But he also wondered how "the noble Geber, Avicenna, and Almanzor" could have believed the inaccurate explanation of earthquakes allegedly given by the Prophet Mohammad (*ibid.*, vol. I, p. 148). Avicenna was highly admired by the physician and fellow of the College of Physicians (1584) Lancelot Browne who learnt Arabic in order to be able to read Avicenna in the original: Hamilton, *William Bedwell*, pp. 8–9.

[100] *Miscellaneous Works of Mr. John Greaves*, 2 vols. (London, 1737), vol. II, pp. 364–367, 434–437. Henry Stubbe also alluded to Abulfeda in *An Account of the Rise and Progress of Mahometanism, with the Life of Mahomet* ed. Hafiz Mahmud Khan Shairani (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1954).

[101] Browne, *Works*, vol. II, p. 56.

fascinated by the imports from the Levant of saffron, damask rose, Turkey fowls, artichoke, plums, apricots, nectarines (all of which had been introduced into England in the sixteenth century),[102] and by the seventeenth-century novelties of tulips, coffee-beans, coffee-houses, hummums and elixirs. Actually, for a visitor to Lilly's laboratory, the Arab-Islamic legacy was seen to be more reliable than the empiricism of Bacon.

Meanwhile, the impact of the Rosicrucian *Fama* was spreading, so much so that the arch-hermeticist Elias Ashmole prepared a manuscript draft of the treatise in his own hand,[103] and in 1662, John Heydon, "A servant of God and a Secretary of Nature," wrote a translation/adaptation of the *Fama*, *The Rosie Cross Uncovered*. Heydon followed exactly the account of the *Fama* but introduced a few changes which magnified the Arabian element: where the original *Fama* had confused "Turks" with Arabs, he used the biblical name of the Arabs, "Ishmalits"; he also granted to the Arabians of Damcar the supreme knowledge, that of "Physick and Philosophie how to raise the dead." He distinguished between Damascus and Damcar and did not use them interchangeably, but although he did not identify the location of Damcar, he emphatically presented it as a city "in Arabia," exactly as the original *Fama* had done. Curiously, Heydon replaced Jerusalem with "Apamia" (in Syria), so that when "C.R." decided to seek the Arabian lore, "Apamia was not so much now in his mind as Damcar."[104] Heydon might have felt that the ascendancy of Damcar over Jerusalem was too challenging to Christian sensitivity and thus replaced the holy city with another city in Syria. Nevertheless, and whether C.R. went to Damascus or Apamia, in both cases he was still on Arabian soil.

In that same year, 1662, Heydon also published *The English Physitians Guide: or a Holy-Guide* in which he presented a description of a voyage to the land of the Rosicrucians. This text drew heavily on Francis Bacon's *The New Atlantis* which had relied on the *Fama*. But Bacon had completely de-Arabized his text: there was no reference in it to Arabia, Damcar or Damascus (although Bacon included a turbaned figure among the inhabitants and used a Semitic – Arabic/Hebrew – name for the city, "Bensalem"). Differing with his mentor, Heydon emphasized the Arabian factor: he located the land of the Rosicrucians on the island of "Apanua or Chrisse in Arabia" and the city of Damcar was on the "Eastern Coast" of the island.

[102] Anderson, *Origin of Commerce*, vol. II, p. 154.

[103] See *A Christian Rosenkreutz Anthology*, ed. Paul M. Allen (New York: Rudolf Steiner Publications, 1974, 2nd edn.), p. 220.

[104] Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p. 283; John Heydon, *The Rosie Cross Uncovered, and the Places, Temples, holy Houses, Castles, and invisible Mountains of the Brethren discovered and communicated to the World* (1662), pp. 6, 7.

It was on that Arabian island that the original revelation of the gospel message to the Rosicrucians had taken place: Christianity, he was informing his readers, was Arabian. And so too was medicine: as the original *Fama* had emphasized Arabian secret knowledge in the natural sciences, so did Heydon: "The Rosie Crucian Physick or Medecines, I happily and unexpectedly light upon in Arabia," declares the traveler. Religious revelation and scientific knowledge met in the Arabia of the Rosicrucians.[105]

This Arabian harmony of science and revelation continued to be admired late in seventeenth-century England. In 1695, *Averroeana: Being a Transcript of Several Letters from Averroes an Arabian Philosopher at Corduba in Spain, to Metrodorus, a Young Grecian Nobleman, Student at Athens, in the year 1149, and 1150* was anonymously published in London. The text praised Averroes for his medical knowledge and specifically noted that his twelfth-century discoveries were still being consulted by English doctors, since "an Original Manuscript Writ in Arabick, [was still] to be seen in the Library of the College of Physicians in London." The author of the *Averroeana* admired the superior learning of Averroes and emphasized the link between Araby and Hellas: the Arabian philosopher had integrated the works of Aristotle and Pythagoras, but he had superseded them: "Proceed thereof," "Metrodorus" wrote, "most Noble Averroes, to imitate that Heaven from whence thou hast derived thy Knowledge in the further communication of the Rays thereof to Mankind." Although Averroes was a Muslim, the Christian correspondent/author did not react against this religious difference; on the contrary, he treated Averroes as mentor: "You were ever, Averroes, the Subject of my Wonder, but now the object of my Emulation." As to Athens of the twelfth century so to London of the seventeenth: the Muslim provided the model for the Christian philosopher whose mind "extend[ed] it self over all the works of Nature, searche[ing] into her most secure and abstruse Recesses." Only Averroes had reached such depth of knowledge, an Arabian who, as Ficino had noted two centuries earlier about Araby, held "nearer Communication with Phoebus."[106]

In their writings, the Rosicrucians and their followers firmly situated the origin of their revelation among the Arabs. This choice of the Arab-Islamic legacy raises a curious paradox: the Rosicrucian movement began as a Protestant brotherhood that aimed at bringing peace to the conflicting denominations of Christendom in war-torn Europe. Nevertheless, and

[105] J. H., *The English Physitians Guide: or a Holy-Guide, Leading the Way to know all Things, Past, Present and to Come* (1662), preface; see an introduction to and a reprint of the text in A. E. Waite, *History of the Rosicrucians* (1887), pp. 340 ff.

[106] *Averroeana* (1695), pp. B2 r, 2, 28, 1, B2 r.

although the "Araby" of the Renaissance and the seventeenth century was predominantly (but not exclusively) Islamic in culture and religion, the Rosicrucians so admired its intellectual and scientific legacy that they chose it as the source of their movement. No wonder that in his utopian *Christianopolis* (1619), Andreae gave his capital city an imaginary Arabic/Hebrew name: "Kafr Salama," village/city of peace. It may well be that the Rosicrucian movement, which influenced writers such as John Amos Comenius and his British disciples Samuel Hartlib and John Durie, pushed the idea of a Christian fraternity to a transnational movement that would include all people with a rational knowledge of God – including Muslims.

HAYY IBN YAQZAN

While numerous English and Scottish writers recognized the esoteric value of the Arab-Islamic legacy, others specifically turned to the Sufism of that legacy. "Demanding of a Learn'd Arabian," wrote an anonymous author in 1693, "Why he affected Retirement? He answer'd, Because in it he could study to be Good."[107] This association between retirement, religious perfection and a "Learn'd Arabian" stems from Ibn Tufayl's *Hayy ibn Yaqzan* – a twelfth-century allegorical tale written in Andalusia and combining Islamic doctrine with Aristotelian philosophy. It told the story of Hayy (i.e. Alive) who found himself alone on an island, and by examining the natural world around him, ascended through the seven stages of reason to the knowledge of God, a knowledge that was exactly similar to Qur'anic principles.

The first reference to *Hayy* in seventeenth-century England appeared in a letter by Samuel Hartlib to John Worthington on January 30, 1659. In response to a query about the text, he wrote that "The ingenious Arabick Fiction doth neither delectare nor prodesse, because it is not yet in English."[108] Hartlib did not mention where he had found his text of *Hayy* or whether he had read it; although Edward Pococke had begun working on a translation of this text in the mid-1640s, Hartlib's words suggest that the version before him was in a language he could not read – Arabic. Hartlib was very interested in the text, and a year later he wrote to

[107] Howell, *The Second Volume of the Post-Boy Robb'd of his Mail* (1693), p. 102.

[108] Worthington, *The Diary*, vol. I, p. 176. In his *Ephermides* of 1659, Hartlib wrote down the following: "Dr Worthington much desired the publishing of the Arabian Philosophical Fiction translated by Pocock being a Didactica as it were how to study and proceed in Philosophy," *HP*, 29/8/3. Hartlib's statement seems to suggest that Pococke had finished his translation of *Hayy*. Was his translation (which was never published) the same as the one that was published by his son a little over a decade later? See Michael Nahas, "A Translation of Hayy B. Yaqzan by the elder Edward Pococke (1604–1691)," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 16 (1985): 88–90.

Worthington about the possibility that Robert Boyle might know whether there were plans to publish "Pocock's Arabick Fiction."[109] In 1661, Worthington wrote to him in praise of Pococke and wondered whether the latter had added "the Arabic Philosophical Fiction (we have sometimes written about)" to the translation of *Lamiato 'l Ajam*. Worthington, along with Hartlib and his other correspondents, was enthusiastic about Pococke's translations from Arabic into Latin and English. "He is a very able person," wrote Worthington about the orientalist, "for the discovery of what is worthy in that language." There was at Oxford, he added, "a great magazine of Oriental books," and although he was unable to read Arabic, Worthington realized the importance of the language as an avenue to "worthy" texts that could become accessible to him and his circle only in translation.[110]

There is a possibility that Hartlib and Worthington might have acquired a manuscript version of *Hayy* from Edward Pococke the Younger who was the first orientalist in England to translate the complete text into Latin. In 1671 Pococke published *Philosophus Autodidactus sive Epistola Abi Jaafar, Ebn Tophail de Hai Ebn Yokdhan* which he dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury.[111] Pococke presented the text to the Primate as evidence of human reason's attainment of the knowledge of God through the contemplation of the creation. It was a perfect example of rational religion, the kind of religion that some spokesmen for the Church of England were advocating in the Restoration period against the "fanatics" and "enthusiasts" of Nonconformity. The Muslim text seemed to serve an Anglican goal. Pococke further explained that he had translated the book because it was already available to Muslims and to Jews, and therefore Christians should be able to judge it themselves.[112] The book proved popular and in 1700 went into its second printing.

As soon as *Hai* was available in Latin, it captured the imagination of Quaker thinkers. The idea of man's attaining knowledge of God without the help of the state-established church was extremely appealing to believers in the "inner light" who were reeling under Anglican persecution. In 1674, the first English translation of the Latin text appeared by the Quaker George Keith, who emphasized on the titlepage that "Hai Ebn Yokdan"

[109] P. M. Holt, "An Oxford Arabist," p. 14; Worthington, *The Diary*, vol. I, p. 259, letter on January 1, 1660.

[110] Worthington, *The Diary*, vol. II, p. 104.

[111] Edward Pococke, *Philosophus Autodidactus sive Epistola Abi Jaafar, Ebn Tophail de Hai Ebn Yokdhan In qua Ostenditur quomodo ex Inferiorum contemplatione ad Superiorum notitiam Ratio humana ascendere possit* (Oxford, 1671).

[112] *Ibid.*, dedication: "Et olim non solum inter Mahommedanos versatus, sed inter Judaeos quoque non ingratus hospes; voluitque jam demum & Christianis innotescere: sed hic haeret anxius, metuensque quam parum gratus futurus sit, Genium postulat, cujus praesidio luce inassuetam ferendo fit."

attained "profound Wisdom ... both in Natural and Divine things ... without all Converse with Men." Keith was an active and influential Quaker and he was so convinced by the teachings of this "ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY" that he added on the first page of the translation an evocative rendering of the Basmallah, the invocation of God: "In the Name of the Lord the merciful Commiserator." For him, *Hai* was a text that spoke of the true way to God, irrespective of creed and dogma. The fact that the author was an Arabian and that the text belonged to the Islamic tradition did not appear to raise any problems for Keith. Indeed, he compared the Arabian author with Job, the three wise men of the East and Cornelius, all of whom had been praised in the Bible although they were not "Christian."[113]

This English translation extended the impact of Ibn Tufayl's text. Keith gave a copy of *Hai* to Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist, who mentioned "the profound wisdome of Hai Ebn Yokdan" in one of his letters to Anne Conway, at whose residence both More and Keith, with van Helmont and other seekers after esoteric knowledge, frequently met.[114] Keith also passed on the text to Robert Barclay, the architect of Quaker theology, who, like Keith and Pococke, treated Hayy as a real person and praised him for his "Immediate Converse" with God. For him, Arabian Hayy was the proof that men could reach God without the mediation of ecclesiastical authority. Barclay viewed the experience of Hayy as a legitimation of the Quaker "inner light": indeed, just before mentioning the Andalusian text, he had referred to Socrates and to the Platonists who "saw the Word in the beginning; which was Light." Since there was evidence to support the concept of the Quaker inner light in pagan writings, there was nothing outlandish in finding similar evidence in the writings of a Muslim.[115] In this respect, Barclay's use of a Muslim text in his work – which became the intellectual cornerstone of Quaker theology – is important: nowhere else in English theological writings had a Muslim thinker attained such a Christian status.

In a different vein, the Anglican theologian George Ashwell produced his English version of *Hai* in 1686. For Ashwell, *Hai* served as a demon-

[113] George Keith, *Oriental Philosophy, Shewing The Wisdom of some Renowned Men of the East* (1674), titlepage and A2 r.

[114] *The Conway Letters*, ed. Marjorie Hope Nicolson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), p. 392. See the chapter on Keith in Antonio Pastor, *The Idea of Robinson Crusoe*, 2 vols. (Watford: Gongora Press, 1930), vol. 1, pp. 191 ff.

[115] Robert Barclay, *Truth Triumphant through the Spiritual Warfare ... of ... Robert Barclay* (1692, first publ. 1674), p. 362; see also D. Elton Trueblood, *Robert Barclay* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), pp. 158–161.

stration of what he called in the title, the "Steps and degrees, humane Reason, improved by diligent Observation and Experience, may arrive to the knowledge of natural things, and from thence to the discovery of Supernaturals." For Ashwell, the Arabian contribution was not as much theological as natural. Ashwell was not using the text in a sectarian argument but in evidence of the universality of human reason: the protagonist was "a natural philosopher" in the tradition of Aristotle, while the author was an "Arabian" and a "Mahometan," and the English readers were Christian. In order to show the common grounds among all three traditions – Aristotelianism, Islam and Christianity – Ashwell deleted passages and Qur'anic citations which he feared would "disturb the sense": the result, in his view, was a presentation of the "Book of Nature" which set forth "Gods works of Creation and Providence." For Ashwell, *Hai* was in the tradition of Arabian science, a science whose mystical dimension led to the knowledge of God.[116]

The wide appeal of a Muslim text in English theological dialogue is noteworthy. But this appeal of *Hai* was possible only because the text had been edited with the aim of reducing its Islamic content particularly in its allusions to the Prophet Mohammad. The writers and translators who used Pococke's Latin version would not have realized (unless they had read the Arabic text) that they were using a version that had been partly de-islamicized, for Pococke had accommodated his Christian faith by removing from the Latin translation some of the Islamic allusions which appear in the Arabic. In the opening epistle by Ibn Tufayl, for instance, the Muslim author concluded his invocation by referring to Mohammad as God's servant and messenger; he then continued with over three lines of praise for the Prophet and his family. All this material was omitted in the Latin – as was other material of a similar nature.[117] The conclusion, therefore, by A. M. A. H. Kararah that "Pococke's work is a slavish word for word translation of the Arabic" does not apply to all the text.[118] Fortunately, these deletions by Pococke caused only limited damage to the sense of the text. Ashwell, as noted above, went further and deleted other "Islamic" statements, although he always confirmed that the author was a Muslim. Such reactions against the Islamic element reached their peak in the eighteenth

[116] George Ashwell, *The History of Hai Eb'n Yockdan, An Indian Prince: or, The Self-Taught Philosopher. Written Originally in the Arabick Tongue, by Abi Jaafar Eb'n Tophail, a Philosopher by Profession, and a Mahometan by Religion* (1686), titlepage, and B3 v; B6 r, B7 v, and A4 r. See the chapter on Ashwell in Pastor, *The Idea of Robinson Crusoe*, vol. 1, pp. 217 ff.

[117] *Philosophus Autodidactus*, pp. 2 and 3.

[118] "Simon Ockley: His Contribution to Arabic Studies and Influence on Western Thought," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1955), p. 143.

century when the Society of Friends, which had been most amenable to the text, excised the allusion to *Hai* from Barclay's influential book.

The appeal to *Hai* in the Restoration period showed an English willingness to engage with rather than react against an Islamic source. But it was a difficult engagement, as the translators realized that they were using a text that belonged to a religious tradition that was, in theological principle, opposed to their own. Still, they translated and commented on *Hai*, and although they reduced its Qur'anic content, they conceded that it was an Arabic-Islamic text. For them, there could be no ignoring the original thought in the Arabic *corpus* with its synthesis of Graeco-Hellenistic thought. Thomas Greaves had stated that Arabic learning could satisfy the "most greedy Helleno-Librorum," and in the eighteenth century, Richard Parker agreed that when "the Moors were in possession of Spain, Aristotle in the Arabian dress travell'd thither."[119] The readers of *Hai* realized that by studying an Islamic source they could examine two traditions simultaneously: the Arab-Islamic and the Greek.

The interest in *Hai* continued into the next century. The book was translated again by Simon Ockley in 1708, and it appeared with a preface by the bookseller praising the text for providing "a Taste of the Acumen and Genius of the Arabian Philosophers." Although the bookseller admitted that the wisdom of the text seems "little in respect of the Discoveries [in science] of this discerning Age," he still urged a careful and studious reading.[120] Perhaps the most eminent recognition for this text in the eighteenth century was by John Wesley. In one of his early writings, he praised "the Mahometan Arabian" author for presenting "all the principles of pure religion and undefiled." For one who admired "method" in religious instruction, *Hai* provided a superlative example of religious order.[121]

[119] Richard Parker, *An Essay on the Usefulness of Oriental Languages* (1739), p. 6. See also Christian Ravis, *A Discourse of the Oriental Tongues viz. Ebrew, Samaritan, Calde, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic* (1649) in which the "Orientall Tongues" are said to be "far more noble then Greek, Latine or any of the esteemed learned tongues," p. 12.

[120] Simon Ockley, *The History of Hayy ibn Yaqzan*, ed. A. S. Fulton (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1929). The introduction gives a history of the book.

[121] *The Works of John Wesley*, 14 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1996, first publ. 1872), vol. VII, p. 197. Wesley, however, did not seem to know when the text had been written and thought that it had appeared "a century or two ago." Whether Daniel Defoe used *Hai* in *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) remains conjectural: see Leif Eeg-Olofsson, *The Conception of the Inner Light in Robert Barclay's Theology* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1954), p. 50. See also for a study of the influence of Hayy on English imagination, G. A. Russell, "The Role of Ibn Tufayl, A Moorish Physician, in the Discovery of Childhood in Seventeenth Century England," in *Child Care Through the Centuries*, ed. John Cule and Terry Turner (Cardiff: STS Publishing, 1986), pp. 166–177; Nawal Muhammad Hasan, "A Study in Eighteenth-Century Plagiarism," *Islamic Quarterly*, 27 (1983): 30–48; Shelly Ekhtiar, "*Hayy ibn Yaqzan*: the eighteenth-century reception of an oriental self-taught philosopher," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 302 (1992): 217–245.

ISLAM IN PURITAN–ANGLICAN POLEMIC

While Rosicrucians and orientalists engaged the Arab-Islamic legacy on the intellectual and Sufi levels, others approached it in a political context. Allusions to Islam, "Alcoran," "Mahometans" and "Turks" began to appear in treatises and polemics with noticeable frequency as soon as the Civil Wars loomed in England and Scotland. Indeed, and as in sixteenth-century Italy so in seventeenth-century England, attention to Islam was proportionate to the religious anxiety in society:[122] the more there was tension and controversy, the more the English and Scottish writers were willing to turn to Muslim texts and models.

Islam was specifically invoked by English and Scottish writers in the context of the numerous sects and parties which appeared during the Civil Wars. Like Alexander Ross, Ephraim Pagitt, a strong Royalist and Presbyterian, denounced the profusion of sects in the 1640s, and he commended the Muslims for not suffering "Mahomet to bee blasphemed": he hoped that Englishmen (particularly the Cromwellian army) would emulate the Muslims and desist from heresy against Christ.[123] Muslim political models could serve to inspire unity in the realm and religious orthodoxy in the Church. Indeed, Thomas Edwards, author of a lengthy exposition of "heresies" in England, *Gangraena* (1646), declared that should the Scots Presbyterians – whom he supported – find themselves at war with the sectaries – whom he opposed – they would raise the Solemn League and Covenant at the head of their army "and appeale to heaven to help them . . . as the great Turk did once in such a case against the Christians."[124] Although Edwards was inaccurate in his knowledge of Islamic history, he recognized the relevance of an Islamic precedent in an England torn by sects and parties. Both Pagitt and Edwards were opposed to any toleration of the sectaries and invoked in their arguments the model of the Muslims – both Arabs and Ottomans – who were always firm against religious dissent. In 1648, a treatise was published anonymously about *Liberty of Conscience: confuted by arguments of reason and policie; delivered in a discourse betwixt a Turke and a Christian. Occasioned by a letter written to a peere of this realm.* In it, the Muslims/"Turks" were presented as models of religious authority who offered

[122] See Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1982).

[123] Ephraim Pagitt, *Heresiography, or a Description of the Heretickes and Sectaries Sprang up in these latter times* (1654), B3 r.

[124] Edwards, *Gangraena*, p. 245. The reference was to the battle of Siffin in 656 A.D. when Muslims raised the Qur'an on their spears: but they were not then fighting a Christian army but the forces of Ali, the Prophet's cousin.

Christians "weighty reasons" against the errors of "Liberty of Conscience."

Many references to Islam in the sectarian controversies of the Interregnum and the Restoration periods were hostile, but they are significant because they show that as Islam and "Alcoran" were bandied about in treatises and poems, the readers were presumed to be familiar with the implications of the references. That is how new words entered the English language in this period, "Alcoraned" and "alcoranal," never, however, to be reused (*O.E.D.*). Frequently, associations with Islam or Turks identified the political position of the writers: John Milton compared the tyranny of the Anglican state to the "Turkish Tyranny" and therefore did not have a single good word for the Ottomans in all his writings.[125] In 1655, Milton's friend, Andrew Marvell, condemned the Fifth Monarchy Men and the Quakers because of their opposition to Cromwell: the worst comparison he could draw was with the Muslim Prophet and his revelation.[126] In 1659, and soon after all the members of the Long Parliament had returned to their seats, Milton warned the Presbyterians against using force for imposing religious conformity on the grounds that such use would put them on a par with the Turks: "For if it must be thus, how can any Christian object it to a Turk, that his religion stands by force only; and not justly fear from him this reply, yours both by force and monie in the judgment of your own preachers."[127]

While Milton and Marvell used the Turko-Islamic model in order to denigrate the Anglican and Presbyterian opponents of the "good old cause," other writers, such as Robert Withers, who were unsympathetic to the Cromwellian rule, compared the "Professours of Religion" among the Turks with "the Puritans."[128] By studying the history of Muslim govern-

[125] For the phrase "Turkish Tyranny," see *Complete Prose Works*, vol. II, p. 548; vol. III, pp. 312, 313, 314, 453. See also Robert Ralston Cawley, *Milton and the Literature of Travel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 128.

[126]
"Oh Mahomet! now couldst thou rise again,
Thy falling-sickness should have made thee reign,
While Feake and Simpson would in many a tome,
Have writ the comments of thy sacred foam:
For soon thou mightst have passed among their rant
Were't but for thine unmoved tulipant;
As thou must needs have owned them of thy band
For prophecies fit to be Alcoraned."

Andrew Marvell, "The First Anniversary of the Government," ll. 304–310 in Andrew Marvell, *The Complete Poems*, ed. Elizabeth Story Donno (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1972).

[127] Milton, *Complete Prose Works*, vol. VII, p. 318; see also Robert Barclay, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (first publ. c. 1678, repr. New York, 1827), p. 506.

[128] Robert Withers, *A Description of the Grand Signor's Seraglio, or Turkish Emperours Court* (1650), p. 187. Although Withers' name was given as the author of the treatise, the actual writer was Ottaviano Bon, the Venetian representative in Istanbul, 1604–1607. See Ottaviano Bon, *The Sultan's Seraglio: An Intimate Portrait of Life at the Ottoman Court*, introd. and ed. Godfrey Goodwin (London: Saqi Books, 1996).

ments and administration, wrote Francis Osborne in 1650, one learned how sedition was extirpated; Englishmen should learn from Muslims, he added a few years later, "Expedients more proper for Unity."[129] Since Allah could apparently ensure power for the Sultan, perhaps England could learn how God could sustain power for the monarch. In 1659, a Royalist satire against Sir Henry Vane castigated him as "Alcoran Vane" – possibly because of Vane's friendship with Henry Stubbe, the author of a sympathetic biography of the Prophet; in a 1661 satire, Vane was again caricatured as one who had sought to change the laws of Britain into laws of "Mahomet."[130] When the Restoration satirist Samuel Butler caricatured the Nonconformist, he compared him with the "giddy" Muslim.[131] Paul Rycaut praised the Ottoman Sultan who desisted from taking possession of lands "dedicated to religious uses" and then he drew a contrast with "our Sectaries in England, who violate the penetralia of the Sanctuary."[132] In his condemnation of the Puritans, the Cambridge Platonist Henry More compared the religious "Enthusiasm" of the "Sectaries" in England with the enthusiasm of "Mahomet" and his followers,[133] and in an attack on Catholicism which appeared in 1673, the poet-polemicist Thomas Traherne described the Jesuits as "the Popes Janizaries."[134] In 1681, a satire presented the typical Whig as a character who has "the hands of a Turk, like whom he will fight for the Alchoran of his Solemn League and Covenant," while a "Gentleman" praised the Muslims who, in contrast to the Nonconformists, expressed "great Respects and Reverence for their Superiors and Governors, for the preservation of Order and Government."[135]

For all these writers, allusion to Islam and the Turks served to drive their

[129] Francis Osborne, *Politicall Reflections upon the Government of the Turks . . . by the author of the late Advice to a* (1650), p. 15; *ibid.* (1656), A2 v.

[130] *Rump, or an Exact Collection of the Choycest Poems and songs Relating to the Late Times* (1662), I, p. 162; Thomas Flatman, *Don Juan Lamberto. Or, A Comical History of the late Times* (1661; another edition 1664), E2 v. See also the reference to the death of Cromwell, the "Soldan of Brittaine," A r.

[131] *Samuel Butler: Satires and Miscellaneous Poetry and Prose*, ed. René Lamar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), "Upon an Hypocritical Nonconformist," stanza xi.

[132] Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 5.

[133] Henry More, *An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness* (1660), p. 158 and *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus* (1662; first publ. 1656), pp. 15–16.

[134] Thomas Traherne, *Roman Forgeries* (1673), p. 145. See also the Catholic–Muslim association in Bartholomaeus Albizzi, *The Alcaron of Barefote Friers, that is to say, an heape or numbre of the blasphemous and trifling doctrines of the wounded Idole Saint Francis* (1550, 1603, 1679). The work was originally written in French: for its history, see Mary Augusta Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), pp. 251–252.

[135] Heraclitus Ridens, *At A Dialogue between Jest and Earnest, Concerning the Times* (1681), 16 August 1681; *A Seasonable Prospect for the View and Consideration of Christians. Being A brief representation of the Lives and Conversations of Infidels and heathens, as to Religion and Morality, in our Age.* (1687), p. 54.

polemic home to their adversaries. Both Islam and the Turkish Empire were part of the common parlance and were used for propaganda purposes: references to them served to clarify, support and vindicate Christian positions in the camps of the Nonconformists and the anti-Nonconformists, the Anglicans and the anti-Anglicans and the anti-Catholics. Indeed, in the context of anti-Catholicism, numerous English writers mentioned how Muslims permitted non-Muslims to worship freely in their midst – a permission which drove Protestants under the Catholic Habsburgs to prefer the Turks as their rulers. In May 1661, Henry Oldenburg stated that German and Hungarian Christians were willing "to live under ye Turk, because of liberty of conscience."[136] In 1663, Ralph Josselin, vicar of Earls Colne in Essex, disapproved in his diary of those people who were "desirous the Turks should overrun christendom, to gain their liberty" from Catholic rule:[137] as an Anglican minister in Restoration England, Josselin did not have to worry about being persecuted for his faith. Many Protestants pointed out that while they could not worship freely in Catholic countries, they could worship openly on Muslim soil. William Okeley, who was held captive in Algiers in the 1640s but was writing in the 1670s, confirmed that he was allowed to assemble for prayer with "three or fourscore, and though we met next the Street, yet we never had the least disturbance from the Turks, or Moors."[138] Writing in 1683, one "R. D." denounced Islam as a false religion but then added:

> Hence I have heard many say, that it is better for a man that would injoy liberty of Conscience, to live in the Countreys professing Mahometanism than Papistry: for in the one he shall never be free from the Bloody Inquisition; in the other he is never molested, if he meddle not with their Law, their Wives, or their Slaves.[139]

Indeed, long after the defeat of the Turkish army at the gates of Vienna in 1683, Daniel Defoe recalled in 1704 that "Some People here were So Weak

[136] Henry Oldenburg, *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*, 13 vols., ed. and trans. A. Rubert Hall and Marie Boas Hall (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), vol. 1, p. 410. See Luther, "On War against the Turks" (1529) in *The Works*, vol. v, pp. 111–112, although Luther condemned this attitude of supporting the Turks against the Catholics. See also Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk*, p. 143; Burian, "Interest of the English," p. 223; and the quotations cited by John W. Bohnstedt, *The Infidel Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as Seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new series, vol. LVIII., part 9 (1968), p. 20.

[137] *The Diary of Ralph Josselin*, ed. Alan Macfarlane (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 502.

[138] William Okeley, *Eben-Ezer*, p. 24.

[139] R. D., *The Strange and Prodigious Religions, Customs, and Manners, of Sundry Nations* (1683), pp. 54–55; see also William Biddulph's account in 1601: "Turkes give libertie of conscience [while Catholics are] very kind and curteous to strangers in all things, libertie of conscience onely excepted," in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. VIII, p. 303.

> to wish the Turks shou'd Take the Citty because Thereby the Protestants would be Establish'd."[140]

That the Ottoman Empire allowed religious diversity while Catholicism on the continent and Anglicanism at home were seen to crush such diversity gave Islam a respectable appeal. After 1662, some Nonconformists in England believed that they would be better treated under Muslim rulers than under Anglican Protestantism. Islam was not always the scourge of God, and travelers such as Rycaut and others noted that in Greece, the Orthodox Patriarch was not unwilling to join forces with the Sultan against what he saw as the evangelical thrust of the Jesuits into the Greek congregation. The fact that numerous Christian denominations such as the Jacobites, the Nestorians, the Chaldeans and others had survived under the Ottomans – as travelers such as Fynes Moryson, George Sandys and others confirmed in their accounts – witnessed to Ottoman toleration (had Catholicism prevailed in the Levant, these "heretics" might have met with the same fate as did the Waldensians in France). Because Catholicism denied liberty of conscience, some "true Protestant Englishmen" praised the Muslims after the Popish Plot scare in 1678, because they believed that only the Muslims could protect them from the depredations of the Pope. On September 1, 1683, it was reported that a brawl broke out in "the Amsterdam coffee-house" between a physician and "the Salamanca Doctor Oates" because the latter had declared that Turks were more honest than Christians. Indeed, a broadsheet had just been published ridiculing Oates as a Muslim: *Dr. Oats's last Legacy's and his Farewel Sermon. He being sent for to be high Priest to the Grand Turk* (1683). Although Oates was given "two or three blows over the head" in the coffee-house, his outlook suggested that some Nonconformists viewed the Turks as their saviors from Catholic domination.[141]

Islam's toleration of other religions was making demands on Christian thinkers, some of whom felt a need to reassess Christian doctrine in light of other monotheisms. Lady Anne Conway tried to remove the mystery of the Trinity ("a Stone of Offence") from Christianity in order to make Christianity more appealing to Jews and Muslims – for whom the doctrine is objectionable.[142] Although Lady Conway's attitude to Jews and

[140] *The Letters of Daniel Defoe*, ed. George Harris Healey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 46. See also *Defoe's Review, reproduced from the original editions . . . 1704–1713*, 9 vols., ed. Arthur Wellesley Secord (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), vol. 1, bk. 2, p. 237, the "Review" of September 16, 1704: "I Advanc'd a Proposition last Paper, That there is some difference between Popish and Turkish Tyranny, in opposition to those People, who would have had the Turks have taken Vienna."

[141] *C.S.P Domestic, Charles II, 1683*, vol. XXIV, pp. 351–352.

[142] Anne Conway, *The Principles of the Most Ancient and Modern Philosophy*, ed. Peter Loptson (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982, first publ. posthumously in 1692), p. 179.

Muslims was conversionist, it is noteworthy that she was willing to change "orthodox" Christian doctrine in order to accommodate them. Other theologians reevaluated their Christian faith in order to understand its role in the *historia monotheistica* – the continuum of Judaism, Christianity and Islam.[143] In this context, the Unitarians, or "Socinians," as they were derisively called, were the most active group to argue in favor of the *historia* and to proclaim that Islam was closer to their theology than the Protestant or the Catholic traditions. For them, Muslims were religious allies who proved the accuracy of their interpretation of the Christian Scriptures because they concurred with them in rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity. Although the Unitarians recognized what they termed as "errors" in the Qur'an, they praised Muslim theology because it had maintained, unlike the post-Chalcedeon tradition in Christianity, the unity of God.

In *A Letter of Resolution concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation* (1693), an anonymous writer pointed to Muslim theology and military supremacy as a vindication of Socinian unitarian arguments. In the world, he stated, Muslims were more numerous than Christians, not because of force but because of the Muslim proclamation of "one Truth in the Alchoran, the Unity of God."[144] Islam was stronger than Christianity because its doctrine was correct and Christianity's was wrong. Indeed, when Christians had tried to convert the Tartars in the thirteenth century, he noted, the latter rejected the faith because of its Trinitarianism and subsequently espoused Islam because of its unity.[145] An opponent of this treatise, John Edwards, explained how the Socinian author of *A Letter* spoke "favourably . . . of Mahometism or Turcism" as a divine religion intended to "restore the belief of the Unity of God, which at that time was extirpated among the Eastern Christians by the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation."[146] For the Socinian writer, and to the horror of his critic, Islam was a corrective to, not an aberration from, Christianity.

References to "Alcoran" and to Islam also proved useful to English theologians bent on countering the arguments of Jews and "atheists," the latter group allegedly spawned by the Civil Wars and what was widely seen as the subsequent moral laxity of the Restoration period. English writers who entered into debate with those groups often cited "Alcoran" in sup-

[143] See the extensive study of this topic in J. A. I. Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), chapter 4.

[144] *A Second Collection of Tracts, Proving The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only True God* (1693), p. 18.

[145] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[146] John Edwards, *The Socinian Creed or A Brief Account of the Professed Tenents and Doctrines of the Foreign and English Socinians* (1694), pp. 227–228.

port of the divine origin of the Christian revelation (to the atheists) and its supremacy over Judaism (to the Jews). The Qur'an was a neutral text in the sense that neither Christians, Jews nor atheists accepted it: nevertheless, the information in that neutral text was employed to convince the latter groups of the authenticity of Christianity. When the protagonist in *Nova Solyma* searched for the single true religion among the three monotheisms, he was comforted that the Qur'an proved the superiority of Christianity over Judaism and that Mohammad gave to Jesus "greater honour than to Moses." The proof of Christ's messiahship was also evident in the Qur'an which in addition discredited Judaism: "Mahomet bore witness as against the Jews that Christ was that great prophet whom Moses foretold."[147] Such appeal to the Qur'an for its theological support of Christianity was widespread: Thomas Traherne, the Oxford Platonist, writing against Hobbesian "atheism" in 1674, argued that the Christian religion could not be false because even "Turks acknowledge the Historical Part" of the Bible;[148] Benjamin Whichcote, the Cambridge Platonist, proving the "Evidence and power of Divine Truth," cited Muslims in support of Christ: "The Mahometans . . . acknowledge all that is related concerning Christ: only they tell us that what Christ said of sending the spirit and another comforter, is meant of Mahomet."[149] Richard Baxter, the Presbyterian, noted that the "Religion of the Mahumetans" confirmed Jesus as "the Word of God, and a great Prophet,"[150] while Isaac Barrow, the Anglican, demonstrated the supremacy of Christianity by enlisting the support of the Qur'an which "admits Christianity once to have been a true doctrine, proceeding from and attested to by God."[151] Barrow recognized that the Qur'an accepted Christianity in its "original" revelation ("once") but not as it was later corrupted by ecclesiastical innovations – what, to Barrow, were "Popish" intrusions. In *The Atheist Unmasked* (1685), the anonymous author appealed to "Mahometans and Jews who worship the Creator" to support his argument for the Christian God.[152] The Qur'an, some English writers admitted, had been (partly) correct about Christ: although they rejected its prophetic status, they welcomed its views on Jesus as the messiah of the eschaton. "Alcoran" proved Christianity.

[147] *Nova Solyma The Ideal City*, 2 vols., ed. Walter Begley (London: John Murray, 1902), vol. II, p. 163.

[148] Thomas Traherne, *Christian Ethicks*, eds. Robert G. Guffey and Carol L. Marks (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), p. 111; see also p. 120: "The History of the Bible is confest by Turks, and Jews, and Infidels."

[149] *The Works of the learned Benjamin Whichcote*, 4 vols. (Aberdeen, 1751), vol. III, p. 33.

[150] Richard Baxter, *The Reasons of the Christian Religion* (1667), p. 202.

[151] Isaac Barrow, *The Theological Works*, 8 vols. (Oxford, 1830), vol. V, p. 30.

[152] *The Atheist Unmasked, or A Confutation of such as deny the Being of a Supream Deity, that governs HEAVEN and EARTH* (1685), p. 12; see also More, *An Explanation*, p. 165.

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The fact that there were so many allusions to the Qur'an and to Muslim theology in English religious and political writings in this period is important. For Islam was the religion of a military adversary, and it was also a religion which challenged Christianity. Writers recognized that it was not a minor heresy that would soon fade away, but an empire that stretched from Central Europe to India, and from Aden to Baghdad and Crete. Like Catholicism, it was an imperial religion which people in England and the rest of the British Isles were being compelled to confront seriously because it was a religion that was backed by military and evangelistic might: it was a civilization that was flourishing – and in the case of Ottoman Islam, expanding – notwithstanding the prayers of Britons and the wars of Christendom.

COFFEE, THE "MAHOMETAN BERRY"

Aside from the political and religious images of Islam, Englishmen encountered Islam in yet another context: the coffee-house. Sometime during the Interregnum, the first coffee-house was opened in London, and within a decade, the drinking of coffee became so fashionable that it rivaled the traditional ale.[153] Coffee had been known in England since the first decades of the seventeenth century and had been publicly consumed by Edward Pococke, but its appeal gradually grew soon after the first coffee-house was built c. 1652,[154] and after a number of translations from Arabic were published which described the health advantages of coffee-drinking. The first handbill on coffee appeared in 1652 and consisted of a translation from Arabic listing the medicinal value of coffee.[155] In 1657, one "W.R. of Grays Inne, Esq." published *Organon Salutis* (it was published again two years later) in which he confirmed the usefulness of coffee by citing "Rhasio [al-Razi], a very famous Arabian Physician" and Avicenna and by emphasizing how much both the Turks and the Arabs valued the drink.[156] In 1659, Pococke translated a short pamphlet in which he emphasized how coffee led to the "drying of rheumes, and flegmatick coughes and distillations, and the opening of obstructions, and the provocation of urin."[157]

[153] For the history of coffee and the coffee-house, see Edward Robinson, *The Early English Coffee House* (Christchurch: The Dolphin Press, 1972, 1st edn. 1893); Aytoun Ellis, *The Penny Universities* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1956).

[154] Anderson, *Origin of Commerce*, vol. II, p. 419.

[155] Pasqua Rosee, *The Vertue of the COFFEE Drink* (1652).

[156] W R , *Organon Salutis. An Instrument to cleanse the Stomach* (1657 and 1659). The author included a letter by the traveler Sir Henry Blount in praise of coffee: "When a Turk is sick, he fasts and takes Cophie."

[157] Edward Pococke, *The Nature of the drink Kauhi* (1659). The text was written by Daud ibn Umar Antaki (d. 1599). See a transcript of the Pococke text in the Hartlib Papers: "Memo on the Nature and Properties of Coffee," 42/4/4A–4B.

As a result, and throughout the Restoration period, English works appeared which praised coffee and confirmed the views in the Arabic sources.

Such was the popularity of the "Mahometan berry" that some scholars of European social history have proposed a thesis which, in their view, sheds light on the transformation of English and continental sensitivity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In *Tastes of Paradise*, Wolfgang Schivelbusch argued that coffee became popular in seventeenth-century Europe because it appealed to the bourgeois way of life which advocated hard work, control and mental effort. Coffee was the drink of the practitioners of the Protestant work ethic because it stimulated the mind of the drinker, increased his waking hours for productive work and reduced his sexual desire: it evoked "masculinity, patriarchy, asceticism, antisensuality" – all characteristics of the new society that was emerging in Restoration England and elsewhere on the continent.[158] Although coffee's salubrious effect on Restoration Englishmen had been adumbrated by earlier historians of coffee and of the coffee-house,[159] Schivelbusch situated it squarely in the ideological framework of the "Protestant Ethic": citing evidence chiefly from English but also from continental sources, he maintained that the reason why a Turkish drink could become popular in Restoration England and the rest of Europe was because it suited the nascent Protestant ethos.

There is, however, extensive evidence by writers in England to question Schivelbusch's thesis of a link between coffee and the Protestant work ethic. Numerous Restoration writers argued that coffee generated the exact opposite effects of the above "Protestant" values. As early as 1600, the traveler William Parry had denounced coffee because it intoxicated "the brain, like our Metheglin";[160] a few years later, in the *Historia Vitae et Mortis*, Francis Bacon warned that coffee had the power to "disturb the mind" and serve as an "opiate."[161] In the Restoration period, writers reflected on the challenge posed by coffee to English religious culture: as far as they were concerned, coffee was not the drink of the practitioners of the Protestant work ethic, but was a "Mahometan gruel" drunk by potential

[158] Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants and Intoxicants*, trans. David Jacobson (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992), chapter 2.

[159] See Robinson, *The Early English Coffee House*, chapter 6. The debate over coffee also went on in the Ottoman Empire. Ever since the opening of the first coffee-house in Damascus in the first half of the sixteenth century, Muslim writers had described the advantages and disadvantages of coffee. The reason why some Muslim authors condemned coffee was that it was confused with wine: the name "qahwa," which came to mean coffee, was also the name of an alcoholic drink among the Arabs.

[160] Shirley, *Sir Anthony Sherley*, p. 107.

[161] Francis Bacon, *Historia Vitae et Mortis* (1605), p. 271. The book was very popular and was published again in 1636, 1637, and 1663.

renegades from Christianity; it possessed not "Protestant" but Muslim qualities and resulted not in Christian but "Turkish sobriety," as the satirist Ned Ward wrote in 1697.[162] For many writers, coffee-drinking was dangerous because it prepared Englishmen for apostasy to Islam.

In 1665, an anonymous writer published *The Character of a Coffee-House* in which he denounced coffee as a product of the Interregnum religious toleration that had spawned the translation of Ross's "Alcoran." For this as well as other authors, there was a definite association between the opening of the first coffee-house, the introduction of the Islamic text in England and the Puritan upheaval:

> When Coffee once was vended here,
> The Alc'ron shortly did appear (Titlepage).

By associating the publication of "Alcoran" with coffee, the author of *The Character* touched on a fear that was expressed in numerous Restoration writings against coffee: coffee should be avoided because it was, like "Alcoran," the vanguard of Islam into the heart of English society; it had been introduced in the lax years of the rebellion in order to induce Englishmen to turn to it and by so doing, become admirers of Islam.

Praising coffee for its supposed wondrous medical uses proved double-edged: opponents of the berry argued that if coffee had mysterious potencies that could cure diseases, then it might also have mysterious powers to seduce Christians from their faith. Coffee could be a Muslim agent to entice Englishmen away from their religion and turn them into renegades: coffee was as dangerous as "Alcoran" because it threatened the fabric of England's Christian society. It was, an anonymous writer declared, a "Turkish Renegade" berry while water was English and loyal: their mix or marriage was the befouling of the latter as the "cold and dry" berry courted the "cold and moist" Christian water. The imagery in this broadside which appeared in 1672 included numerous crude and racist allusions: coffee represented "The Turkish Hymen in his Turbant swet" and the "marriage" would break up because coffee was "Too swarthy" for the Christian English water which was like "a Nymph so fair, so clear." The Turkish berry, the author urged, should be cast out of England because "No Faith is to be kept with Infidels": indeed, Englishmen should beware this "Bold Asian Brat" because he had "bewitcht" both the "Water and the Men" of Christendom.[163]

[162] Ned Ward, *The London Spy*, ed. Arthur L. Hayward (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1927), pp. 14, 158.

[163] *A Broad-Side Against Coffee: or The Marriage of the Turk* (1672) in *The Touchstone, or Trial of Tobacco* (1678), pp. 58–60.

In the same vein, another writer warned the English public that they should be alert to coffee's magical power: it was an "ugly Turkish Enchantress" which put the English drinker under the "power of this Turkish Spell."[164] Even if coffee-drinkers did not want to "turn Turke," the secret ingredients of coffee would overpower their Protestant faith and convert them to a Levantine religion: for coffee makes the drinker "faithless as a Jew or infidell."[165]

The reference to the "Jew" draws attention to another un-English and un-Christian factor associated with the oriental berry. According to Anthony à Wood, the first coffee-house in England and in the whole of Western Christendom had been opened by one Jacob, a Jew.[166] Soon after the admission of the Jews to England under Cromwell, some coffee-houses in London came to be supervised by Jews whose spoken English was imperfect and heavy. As a result, coffee was doubly attacked for its alien character since the Jews were associated in the English mind with the Ottoman Empire where large communities of Jews lived and from where they imported the berry. Coffee, announced one rhymer, was imported by "some Jew . . . as far as from Jerusalem" and the Jew advertised its alleged good qualities in "Strange Hebrew-English."[167] "Me no good Engalash," wrote another rhymer to remind the reader of the un-English character of the coffee salesmen and his berry.[168]

Coffee conquered both the Christian soul and the Christian body. Those who drank it, some writers indicated, began to look physically like Turks: their complexion changed and they became swarthy and "Moorish." This moorishness/blackness applied not only to the physical complexion but to the moral condition too: coffee led to degeneration. "It makes a Christian blacker far within / Then ever was the Negars outward skin."[169] As a result, writers felt certain that this sin-conducing drink could not have originated in paradise, as some of its defenders alleged, but in hell.[170] Coffee was Satan's drink, concocted with the Turk's assistance to destroy Christendom:

[164] *The City-Wifes Petition against Coffee* (1700), p. 3; *A Cup of Coffee: or Coffee in its Colours* (1663), broadsheet.

[165] *A Cup of Coffee.*

[166] See the account in Robinson, *The Early English Coffee House*, p. 73. Although it is not clear whether Wood was accurate in his observation, it is noteworthy that, from the moment of its introduction into England, coffee was associated in English thinking with the "Jew."

[167] *A Cup of Coffee.*

[168] *A Broad-Side*, p. 59.

[169] *The Maidens Complaint against Coffee, or the Coffee-House Discovered, Besieged, Stormed, Taken, Untyled and Laid Open to publick view* (1663), p. 6.

[170] *Ibid.* See also *The School of Politicks: or, the Humours of a Coffee-House* (1691), ode II, p. 2: "a Liquor of infernal Race."

For Men and Christians to turn Turks, and think
T'excuse the Crime because 'tis in their drink,
Is more then Magick, and does plainly tell
Coffee's extraction has its heats from hell.[171]

As late as 1727, such a view was still expressed by English writers:

'Tis, methinks, faint defying
  Old-Nick and his Works;
To be fond of a Berry,
  Which comes from the Turks.[172]

Aside from threatening religion, coffee-drinking posed a cultural danger since coffee-houses tempted customers away from the traditional English taverns and precipitated financial crises for brewers. This economic factor was important in the Restoration attack on coffee and was frequently transformed into a nationalist cause: to drink ale or beer was a demonstration of patriotism, as, in the next century, William Hogarth showed in "Beer Street"; to turn to coffee was to "Apostatize from the good old Primitive way of Ale drinking, to run a Whoring after such Variety of Destructive Forreign Liquors."[173] Coffee-drinking was an act of apostasy, proof of un-Englishness and of too little attachment to national character. "Like Apes," wrote "W.P." in *A Character of Coffee and Coffee-Houses*, "the English imitate all other people in their ridiculous Fashions . . . [and] With the Barbarous Indian he smoaks Tobacco. With the Turk he drinks Coffee."[174] To drink coffee was to be culturally fickle, and fickleness was the first step to renouncing Christianity.

This religiously based reaction to coffee was more prevalent in England than in other European countries. In Germany and France, opposition to the drink stemmed from the egalitarian effects of coffee-houses and from other social factors;[175] but in England coffee was opposed as an "infidel" berry and viewed as the secret weapon of the Muslims. By drinking and

[171] *A Cup of Coffee.* [172] *Coffee: A Tale* (1727), p. 3. [173] *The City-Wifes Petition*, p. 3.

[174] W.P., *A Character of Coffee and Coffee-Houses* (1661), p. 1. No wonder that after Charles II issued a "Proclamation" prohibiting coffee (and other imported drinks) in 1675, the coffee salesmen offered to assure him of their loyalty by taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.

[175] Peter Albrecht, "Coffee-Drinking as a Symbol of Social Change in Continental Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century," in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, eds. John W. Yolton and Leslie Ellen Brown (East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1988), pp. 91–103; see also Jean Lecaut, "Le Café et les cafés à Paris (1644–1693)," *Annales*, 6 (1951): 316–348. The social egalitarianism of coffee was also noted in England where coffee-houses were supposed to seat people of all ranks and political views together: see *The Character of a Coffee-House* (1673), p. 4 and "The Rules and Orders of the Coffee House" (1674), quoted in Robinson, *The Early English Coffee House*, p. 110. See also Steve Pincus, "'Coffee Politicians Does Create': Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture," *The Journal of Modern History*, 67 (1995): 807–835.

selling coffee, the coffee-man turned into an "English Turk," declared the "Ale-wife."[176] This fear was compounded by the oriental signs above the coffee-house entrances in London and by their names, a large number of which were the "Turk's Head." Many advertisements appeared in weekly London papers about new coffee-houses whose distinguishing sign was "The Great Turk."[177] Nearly half the surviving coffee-house tokens from the Restoration period carry the sign of a Turk's head, particularly the face of the Sultan "Amorat" (Murad) along with the words: "Morat ye Great Men did mee call" while on the reverse was a crescent adjacent to these words: "Where eare I came I conqver'd all."[178]

These were no empty words: Englishmen knew of Ottoman expansion in central Europe. The link between the "Turk's Head" sign and coffee is significant: the Turk's Head was a relic of England's past when Christians returned from their wars with Muslims in the Levant and displayed a grotesque and fearsome face of the Saracen. The crest had served as a reminder of the conflict between Christendom and Islam. But with the rise of the coffee-house, the sign of the Saracen's head gave way to the Turk's head,[179] sustaining thereby the ominous evocations of a powerful and dangerous adversary – especially as in the late 1650s and in the 1660s, the Ottoman Empire was militarily reinvigorated under the Grand Viziers Korprulu, Mehemed and his son Ahmad. Indeed, not only did the Turks strengthen their control over Transylvania and Moldavia in that period, but after a siege of over twenty years, they finally captured Crete from the Venetians (1669). By 1676, when the treaty of Zuravno was signed, the Ottoman Empire had reached its widest limit ever.

To install a Turk's head on a coffee-house or on a tavern served thus to recall that adversary while ensuring a sense of control over him – in the same way that a Saracen's or a Turk's face served as a butt for arrow-shooters in the Elizabethan period.[180] This need for control helps explain why it was the Turk's Head of Sultan Murad IV (reg. 1623–1640) that frequently became associated with coffee: after all, he was already dead by the time the coffee-houses had become fashionable in London – and, paradoxically, he had denounced coffee and ordered the closure of all

[176] *The Ale-wives Complaint against the Coffee-Houses, in a Dialogue between a Victuallers Wife and a Coffee-Man* (1675), p. 2.

[177] Jacob Henry Burn, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the London Traders, Taverns, and Coffee-House Tokens current in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Guildhall Library, 1853), p. 67. See the description of the "Turk's Head" coffee-house in John Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life in London* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1872, reprint 1967), pp. 347–349. For the frequency of this coffee-house name, see Bryant Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1963), pp. 62–63.

[178] Burn, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 68. [179] Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, pp. 145–146.

[180] *Ibid.*, p. 147.

coffee-houses in the Empire. By associating coffee with the bust of Murad whose cruelty had been notorious, Englishmen were trying to domesticate their fear of the Turks – a fear that was generated not only by Muslim military danger but by what seemed to many anti-coffee alarmists Muslim cultural penetration of English social life.

For the English opponent to coffee, this fear was compounded by the coffee-house keepers, some of whom were beginning to adopt Muslim clothes and customs. A writer in 1673 noted that one keeper had changed his hat for a turban – "Ap'd a Turbant" – and such was the influence of that new head gear on him that his face had turned "Antichristian" and appeared "perfect Turk."[181] Indeed, in the anti-coffee play, *Knavery in All Trades*, the coffee-house owner was a Turk, "Mahoone," who, like the stereotypical "Jewish" coffee-house owner, spoke in broken English. The illustration to the *Broad-Side against Coffee* showed a black man serving coffee to two Englishmen and a big turbaned Turk with twirled moustaches. A broadside entitled *Wonders on the Deep* (1683) showed the Duke of York's coffee-house with two turbaned men inside. This association between the turban and coffee was not perfunctory: many woodcuts of the coffee-house showed owners and customers wearing a turban. To the average Englishman, the turban was a sign of Islam: and those who drank coffee were now being portrayed as renouncing not only their Christianity but their Englishness too.[182]

Another accusation leveled against coffee was that it diminished sexual activity. A "petition" published and frequently reprinted in the Restoration period, and purportedly prepared by "City-Wifes," referred in its title to the "Inconveniences that accrue to their SEX, from the Excessive Drinking of that Drying, and Enfeebling LIQUOR." In language that was both crude and explicit, women complained how coffee "crippled" their husbands and turned them into "Eunuchs."[183] This and other treatises confirmed for Schivelbusch that coffee was an anti-erotic drink suitable for zealous Protestant workers. But the petition of the women was refuted by a counter-petition by the men, who argued against coffee's alleged sexual incapacitation by pointing to the energetic performance of the Turks. In *The Mens Answer to the Womens Petition Against Coffee*, the anonymous author praised the legendary prowess of the Turks as evidence that coffee stimulated the sexual appetite. Indeed, many English drinkers of coffee believed that the berry possessed aphrodisiac qualities and that it led not to asceticism and abstinence but to extraordinary sexuality:

[181] *The Character of a Coffee-House*, p. 2.

[182] See my article on "Renaissance England and the Turban," in *Images of the Other: Europe and the Muslim World before 1700*, ed. David Banks (Cairo: Cairo Papers in Social Science, 1996), vol. XII, pp. 39–55.

[183] *The City-Wifes Petition*, p. 3.

> Coffee is the general Drink throughout Turky, and those Eastern Regions, and yet no part of the world can boast more able or eager performers, then those Circumcised Gentlemen.[184]

Coffee-drinking heightened sexual desire. As the women had argued that the berry debilitated men, so did men argue that the berry gave them potency. On a purely physical level, coffee gave solidity to male activity:

> Coffee Collects and settles the Spirits, makes the erection more Vigorous, the Ejaculation more full, adds a spiritual escency to the Sperme, and renders it more firm and suitable to the Gusto of the womb, and proportionate to the ardours and expectation too, of the female Paramour.[185]

Surely, the author concluded, women should not hesitate in encouraging their consorts to the "decoction of the rare Arabian Berry." The secret of happy sexuality, as the Arabians had long discovered, lay in coffee-drinking. For many English coffee-drinkers in the Restoration period, "the idea of coffee as an antierotic drink"[186] would have sounded quite strange. Indeed, and as early as 1657, Samuel Clarke had described the "Coha-house" in Baghdad as a place of good fellowship where people drank coffee because it was reputed among them to "provoke lust."[187] As far as the Muslims were concerned, coffee was not for chastity. No wonder that for some English writers, the coffee-house became associated with the obscene and the ribald: a pamphlet published at the end of the century recorded the vulgar motto of a fictitious coffee-house: "Aujourdhuy Seigneur, domain Singe – on the other, Tout passe par les Tripes, comme par le Cul du Singe."[188] The obscene was integral to the culture of coffee.

That coffee should generate so much literature for and against it from the 1650s until the 1680s shows that the anxiety was not just over coffee but over the military and religious culture which produced coffee. Fear of the Ottoman Empire and of islamicizing English life were transformed into enmity to coffee: after all, the Turk Mahoone had triumphantly proclaimed that coffee made "de Turk so stronge, dat une Turk kill une douzane Cristians for a break-fast."[189] Simultaneously, whatever negative effects coffee had on English drinkers could be blamed on Islam. For the opponents of the drink, coffee was seen to cause disease and to inhibit sexuality,

[184] *The Mens Answer to the Womens Petition against Coffee, Vindicating their own Performances, and the Vertues of that liquor, from the Undeserved Aspersions lately cast upon them by their Scandalous Pamphlet* (1674), p. 3.

[185] *Ibid.*, p. 4. The Muslim use of opium was similarly seen to produce sexual desire: see *The Mysteries of Opium Reveald, by Dr. John Jones* (1700), p. 24.

[186] Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise*, p. 37.

[187] Samuel Clarke, *A Geographical Description of the Countries in the known World* (1657), p. 12.

[188] *A Lash for the Parable-Makers, under the Allegory of Apes and Monkeys* (1691), p. 2.

[189] *Knavery in all Trades*, p. D3 v.

to weaken faith and to lead to apostasy, to undermine English culture and to destroy the economy – and all because Britons were drinking that "Mahometan" drink, "the abominable liquor of Infidels," as the Baker's wife angrily stated in Thomas St. Serfe's *Tarugo's Wiles: The Coffee-House.*[190]

From the late Elizabethan until the Restoration periods, Islam was invoked and engaged at various intellectual and social levels. Numerous English and Scottish writers translated and prepared texts about Islam, while the reading public turned to "Alcoran" and learned about Muslim political and religious institutions. Islam entered the English discourse in a manner that superseded every other non-Christian civilization which Britons encountered from the Elizabethan until the Restoration periods.

As the seventeenth century drew to a close, the intellectual and religious climate in Britain underwent momentous changes: astronomy and Newtonian physics eroded the medieval world-view, and Baconian science firmly replaced Aristotle. The modern period was beginning in which the intellectual contribution of the Arabs was no longer seen to be useful. "Physic and Philosophy," wrote a "Gentleman" in 1699, "were the Studies wherein the Arabians excell'd most," but, he added, Arabian learning was now a thing of the past.[191] As a result, the study of Arabic at the Universities declined, both in England and on the continent, and so too patronage for Arabic and Islamic research.[192]

The shift from a cosmos created and sustained by God to a clock-like world regulated by a Cartesian craftsman was difficult, and the seventeenth century shows the continuing attempt on the part of many English and Scottish thinkers to create a balance between Christian faith and the new cosmology. In this context, the Arab-Islamic legacy provided a link to a tradition of learning where the esoteric was integral to the study of the natural order and where science still corresponded to divine revelation – where Bacon's two books of nature and revelation were still the one book of God. This legacy also linked the common man and woman to a realm of mystery that evoked the self-regenerating birds and the self-taught sages of Araby. To make sense of a world shaken by political instability and sectarianism, some Britons turned to the Arabian astrology of Lilly,

[190] See the edition and examination of this play by Philip M. Park (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1968), p. 231.

[191] *Reflections Upon Learning Wherein is shewn the Insufficiency Thereof, in its several Particulars, In order to evince the Usefulness and Necessity of Revelation* (1699), pp. 220–221.

[192] Holt, "An Oxford Arabist," pp. 19 ff. See also Mordechai Feingold, "Decline and Fall: Arabic Science in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Tradition, Transmission, Transformation*, eds. F. Jamil Ragep, Sally P. Ragep, and Steven Livesey (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996): 441–469.

and to confront the empiricism of Bacon, the antiquarian Elias Ashmole consulted the Rosicrucians and their Arabic mentors. In seventeenth-century England, the Arab-Islamic legacy was seen to constitute an important part in the continuum of civilization – a continuum which, as Thomas Fuller observed, could be traced from the Solomonic temple in Jerusalem, to Diana's temple at Ephesus, to the church built by Constantine at Calvary, to Justinian's Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, to Ethelbert's church in Kent and then to the "Mosque" of Fez.[193] From Israelite to pagan Greek to Roman Christian to English Christian to Muslim, there was a continuity in human imagination that culminated in Fez - the same city where "R. C." had concluded his journey in quest of Arabian wisdom and of his own self-understanding as a Christian.

[193] *The Holy State and the Profane State*, ed. Maximillian Graff Walter (New York: AMS Press, 1966), vol. II, p. 227. In the next century, Sir Christopher Wren praised the architecture of the Arabs, insisting that what the Europeans called "Gothick" was really the "Saracen Style: for those People wanted neither Arts nor Learning; and after we in the West had lost both, we borrowed again from them, out of their Arabick Books": "Sir Chr. Wren's Report on the Abbey in 1713, to Dean Atterbury," in *The Wren Society* (Oxford, 1934), vol. XI, p. 16.

CHAPTER FOUR

"Baptizing the Turke": conversion to Christianity in English writings

Whether in the coffee-house or in the pages of *The Christian Astrologer* and *Hai*, early modern English society perceived an Islamic world that was powerful, culturally different and non-Christian. Although some Britons adopted customs, texts and ideas from the Muslims, others reacted with a pride that inspired poets and theologians to think of God as English and to see the nation as an "English Zion." This pride sometimes extended to notions of religio-racial superiority as can be seen in the popular saying that one Protestant Englishman was worth three Catholic Portuguese, and one Portuguese was worth three Muslim Moors.

Such pride had informed the medieval romances against the Muslims. After Western Christians had lost the military encounter with the Muslims in the Holy Land, writers from France and England and elsewhere in Europe turned to defeat them in literature. In the romances and chansons de geste, Christians so overpowered the Muslims religiously that the latter were frequently portrayed as eager to convert in order to join the higher society of Christendom: indeed, "a converted Saracen giant and a defeated Sultan provided a happy dream of triumph when the Crusades were failing."[1] A similar sense of powerlessness against the military expansion of the Ottoman Empire occurred in the early modern period: unable to "dominate" the "Turks" – after all, Istanbul was the biggest city in Europe in the seventeenth century – English writers turned to the only option left for them in confronting Islam: to fantasize in drama and sermon about Christian victory and Muslim defeat.

One sphere in which English society particularly felt the need to defeat Islam was evangelization. Muslims had succeeded in winning over con-

[1] Alan Baragona, "The Depiction of Paganism and Islam in the Fourteenth-Century English Romances of Charlemagne, Troy and Alexander" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Chapel Hill, 1989), p. 105; see also for continental literature that influenced England, C. Meredith Jones, "The Conventional Saracen of the Songs of Geste," *Speculum*, 17 (1942): 201–225.

verts where Britons had not. As a result, both secular and religious writers reflected on the prospect and the method of converting the Muslims to Christianity. In the eighth century, the Venerable Bede had hoped for the conversion of the Muslims, and some of the medieval Christian orders, along with St. Francis, Roger Bacon, Ramon Lull and the fourteenth-century English writers Margery Kempe and Walter Hilton, prayed for that conversion.[2] But that conversion remained confined to literary sources, for there is little documentary evidence showing English evangelistic activity among the Muslims.

Notwithstanding the absence of actual missionary activity among the Muslims, the hope for converting them remained strong in England and was confirmed in the early sixteenth century by William De Worde. In his *Treatyse of the Turkes Lawe Called Alcaron* (1519 ?), De Worde explained that the Muslims would convert to Christianity once they heard the message of the gospel. For, he argued, the reason why Islam was victorious in the world was because of the godless lives of Christians. What was promising about the Muslims, however, was that they "byleueth so moche in our fayth that they ben lyghtely [easily] conuerted whan men bothe preche unto them the fayth of our lorde Jhesu cryst." De Worde urged Christians to reform their lives and follow the precepts of the gospels because their sinful lives were alienating Muslims and pushing them away from Christ: "And so the turkes and sarasyns ye whiche sholde be torned to Jhesu cryste by good example they ben drawen awaye thorughe our synne and wretched lyuynge."[3] This emphasis on example by De Worde would inform much of Christian conversionist literature towards the Muslims, and one of the standard English excuses for failing to convert the Muslims would be, as De Worde had noted, the sinfulness of Christendom.

Writing before the establishment of Protestantism in England, de Worde saw the conversion of the Turks as a Christian victory against an enemy whose military and religious success was challenging the legitimacy and stability of Christianity. The conversion of the Muslims at this early stage in the sixteenth century was not yet a particularly English concern,

[2] Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, chapter 1; Robert I. Burns, "Christian–Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion," *American Historical Review*, 76 (1971): 1386–1434; Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960) which includes a detailed bibliography on this subject. For Kempe and Hilton, see Schwoebel, *Shadow of the Crescent*, pp. 221–222.

[3] De Worde, *Treatyse of the Turkes Lawe*, Aiii r and Aiiii v. See the brief examination of this text by C. F. Beckingham, "Misconceptions of Islam: Medieval and Modern," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. 124 (1976): 606–611.

but it was part of an overall European vision.[4] This attitude toward the Muslims changed in England in the second half of the sixteenth century partly because of the fear of Spain during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. England's break from Rome and her adoption of a national church separated her from Catholic Europe and pushed her toward closer ties with Spain's and the Papacy's foremost enemy in the Mediterranean: the Ottoman Empire and the North African regencies. In 1570, the Queen came under the threat of deposition by a Papal bull, and Catholic Rome and Spain prepared to unseat the Protestant monarchy. Meanwhile, English theologians, traders and military strategists were growing alarmed at Catholic commercial and evangelistic activity in the Mediterranean and the Far East. And there was good reason for this alarm: by the end of the sixteenth century, French Jesuits and Capuchins were enjoying their "golden age" of mission in Muslim lands.[5] In 1625, Samuel Purchas included in *His Pilgrimes* a translation of "The Jesuites gleanings in Africa to Christian Religion" which catalogued the successes of Jesuit priests between 1560 and 1610 in converting Muslims and heathens to Catholicism.[6] Another treatise by an English traveler which was also included by Purchas told of the achievements of the Jesuits in the Mogul empire: in his "A Relation of a Voyage to the Easterne India" (1616), Edward Terry wrote that

> The Jesuites have not only admittance into his presence [the Mogul], but incouragements from him by many gifts, with libertie of converting to them; and to the subject, to be without losse of favour converted . . . The chiefe Jesuite was Franciscus Corsi a Florentine by birth, living at the Mogolls Court, Agent for the Portugals, I would I were able to confirme the Reports of their Conversions.[7]

The author was anxious about the "Reports": although he emphasized that the baptisms effected by the Jesuits were superficial and made people "only in name Christians," he was concerned that whole populations in distant domains were becoming Catholic, and by definition, enemies of the Protestants.[8] Furthermore, the fact that those populations had converted to Catholicism could not be ignored as proof which the Catholic clergy could cite of the strength and appeal of their form of Christianity.

[4] On the continent, the Spaniard Juan Luis Vives and the Frenchman Guillaume Postel advocated the study of Arabic for the purpose of converting the Muslims: see William J. Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi: The Career and Thought of Guillaume Postel (1510–1581)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), chapter 6, "The Church and the World." The influence of the latter was strongly felt in seventeenth-century England. See the statement by Hartlib: "Postellus was one of the greatest scholars in his time . . . He shows also contra vulgarem opinionem, how that Mahomet was no such meane person but a great and learned Prince which is verisimilius," *HP* 30/4/4. The statement was made in 1640.

[5] Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453–1923* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 87.

[6] *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. IX, pp. 255 ff. [7] *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 52.

[8] As late as 1687, the evangelistic success of the Jesuits in the domain of the "Mogol" was still being noted: see *A Seasonable Prospect*, p. 23: "Here the Jesuits have a liberty to convert."

The expansion of Catholicism disquieted England because such religious expansion led to deepening commercial and military ties. There was no doubt that missionaries had paved the way for the French monarchy to reach its first diplomatic agreement with Istanbul in 1535 and a more comprehensive capitulation in 1569, well before the first English ambassador had set foot in the Ottoman city. Such activity on the part of Catholic France encouraged Queen Elizabeth to nurture her own ties with Muslim rulers:[9] as early as 1561, Elizabeth corresponded with the Safavi Shah;[10] later, she exchanged cordial letters and lavish gifts with the Ottoman Sultan Murad III and his wife the Sultana Safiyya; and after the death of the Sultan in 1595, the Queen corresponded with his son Mohammad III with whom the Queen's ambassador Sir Edward Barton became quite friendly.[11] The Turks welcomed the "English alliance as a counterpoise to Spain, especially while the sultan was occupied with Persian affairs,"[12] while the English saw in such an alliance a way to consolidate a military balance against Spain. When the threat of the Spanish Armada loomed in the mid-1580s, Queen Elizabeth did not hesitate to ask the Ottoman Sultan Murad for naval assistance against the Spaniards. Indeed, her Secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, pressed hard for coordinating military policy with the Turks.[13]

In her correspondence with the Sultan, the Queen emphasized the fact that as a Protestant Christian, she rejected the veneration of idolatrous images which the Pope and the Spanish king practiced. Her Christianity, she implied, was closer to Islam than was Catholicism,[14] and to confirm her anti-Catholic position, she included in the raw materials and weapons

[9] For a detailed study of England's relations with Turkey during the Elizabethan period, see Albert Lindsay Rowland, *England and Turkey: The Rise of Diplomatic and Commercial Relations* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968, first publ. 1924).

[10] Hakluyt, *Navigations*, vol. III, p. 8.

[11] For the ambassadorial ties between England and the High Porte, see Arthur Leon Horniker, "William Harborne and the Beginning of Anglo-Turkish Diplomatic and Commercial Relations," *Journal of Modern History*, 14 (1942): 289–316; Susan Skilliter, "William Harborne, the First English Ambassador 1583–1588," in *Four Centuries of Turco-British Relations*, eds. William Hale and Ali Ihsan Bagis (London: Eothen Press, 1984), pp. 10–25 and the extensive account of Harborne's correspondence and transactions by Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578–1582* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977); see also chapter 1 in D'Amico, *The Moor*, for relations with North Africa.

[12] Rowland, *England and Turkey*, p. 50 and all of chapter 4.

[13] Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925, repr. 1967), vol. III, pp. 225–230.

[14] See also for the Queen's anti-Catholicism and for her approximation of Protestantism with Islam the letter by Elizabeth to Mustafa Beg on October 25, 1579 in Skilliter, *William Harborne*, pp. 73–75. Meanwhile, the English ambassador in Istanbul confirmed this anti-Papal position by denouncing Catholic rituals, see Rowland, *England and Turkey*, pp. 55, 126–127.

that were sent to the Sultan, "fragments of broken images," which must have appealed to the iconoclastic Muslim potentate.[15] Furthermore, and in order to assure the Sultan of her close ties with him, she encouraged her merchants to export to the Turks numerous types of military equipment (swords, sword-blades and arquebusses) and gunpowder.[16] The fact that the Muslims were using that equipment in their attacks on Christian shipping – as the Portuguese ambassador complained as early as 1578[17] – did not lead the Queen to reduce the scale of the trade. For her, the political and military ties with the Muslims were necessary to confront a hostile Christian-Catholic policy.

Although Murad III did not send any help to Elizabeth against the Spanish Armada in 1588 (his excuse was that he was engaged in battle against the Persians on the eastern flank of the Empire), by 1589 there was such deep conviction on the continent of an Anglo–Turkish alliance that central European Catholics were saying in Istanbul that "the English lack nothing to make them sound Mussulmans, and need only stretch out a finger to become one with the Turks in outward appearance, in religious observance and in their whole character."[18] So prevalent was the pro-Turkish image of England among Catholics in Europe (and possibly among the Essex faction in England who sought an Anglo–Persian rather than an Anglo–Turkish alliance) that Francis Bacon, who was then trying to attract the Queen's attention, hastened in 1592 to defend his monarch's policy. In *Observations on a Libel*, he explained that the reason the English ambassadors in Istanbul had been successful in negotiating naval and commercial concessions with the Sultan was that the Spaniards, the French and the Venetians had conducted themselves ignominiously, thereby giving "us reputation through the world." Bacon further repeated the Queen's position that the Turks favored Protestant England because Muslims abhorred "the scandal" of images which prevailed among Catholics.[19] For Bacon, the success of Protestant England was not a result of an alliance with the Turks, but it came about because England and Turkey were common enemies of idolatry and shared in a worship of God profoundly at variance with Catholicism. No wonder that in 1594, the Sultana Safiyya Baffo

[15] Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk*, p. 167.

[16] Gillespie, *The Influence of Oversea Expansion*, pp. 146–147; 138–139. Thomas Shirley was angry at this trade and denounced it vehemently, *Discours*, p. 9.

[17] *C.S.P. Foreign, Elizabeth, 1578–1579*, ed. Arthur John Butler (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1903, rep. 1966), vol. XIII, p. 476.

[18] *The Fugger News-Letters, Second Series*, ed. von Klarwill, p. 164.

[19] *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 14 vols., ed. James Spedding et al. (London: Longmans, 1889), vol. VIII, p. 204.

who was a Venetian convert to Islam wielding great influence on the Sultan's foreign policy – addressed the English Queen as "the chosen among those which triumph under the standard of JESUS CHRIST." Knowledge about the cult of the virgin queen had reached Istanbul, for the Sultana also praised Elizabeth for following in "the steps of the virgine Mary."[20] The Protestant fame of Elizabeth had impressed even the Muslims.

In this context of alliance with the Muslims and fear of the Catholics, English theologians began to express their hope of converting the Muslims to Protestantism in order for the latter to assist them against the Catholic adversaries. This conversion of the Muslims could not, however, be approached in England as a project in and by itself but as an adjunct of specific political and religious goals. For it was evident to English writers that they would be hard put to explain why Muslims should convert to a Christianity which was seen by Muslims as poorer and weaker than the Islam of the Ottoman Empire. When John Durie praised a Muslim convert in London in 1658, he particularly mentioned how that man was embracing "the Society of poor Protestants where he could have no hopes of preferment."[21] Turning Protestant was not a tempting choice for a Muslim.

Notwithstanding the lack of incentive for Muslims to convert to Protestantism, a few did so in the period under study. The English preachers, therefore, who witnessed those conversions – and wrote sermons on the occasions – consistently linked the baptism of the converts to political controversies in England and to the eschatological interpretation of those controversies. Conversion demonstrated to preachers of differing religious affiliations that the Catholic, the Anglican and the Puritan were ultimately to be vanquished. If the preacher was a virulent anti-Catholic, as Meredith Hanmer was, then the conversion of a Turk in 1586 heralded the fall of Rome, since the converted Muslims would join English Protestants to fight Catholicism. If the preacher was serving Cromwell, then the conversion confirmed the millennial kingdom of the Puritan saints; if the preacher was an Anglican during the Cromwellian regime, then the baptized Turk was proof of the Anglican Church's imminent victory. In all of the three surviving sermons on the conversion of a Muslim to Protestantism in

[20] H. G. Rosedale, *Queen Elizabeth and the Levant Company* (London, 1904), pp. 2–3; see also S. A. Skilliter, "Three Letters from the Ottoman 'Sultana' Safiye to Queen Elizabeth I," in *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, ed. S. M. Stern (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 129–157. For the influence of Safiyya on the Sultan, see Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries*, p. 275.

[21] Thomas White, *A True Relation of the Conversion and Baptism of Isuf the Turkish Chaous, Named Richard Christophilus In the presence of a full Congregation, Jan. 30 1658 in Covent-Garden where Mr. Manton is Minister* [illegible]

England in this period, there was strong emphasis on the denominational conflicts in English society: indeed, the conversion of the Muslims helped Britons explain contemporary events and "fashion" their understanding of both history and eschatology. That is why, and much as Britons hoped for that conversion, they were never able to transform that hope into a successful mission because conversion was never treated as anything other than a means to a British end. The Anglican preacher Thomas Warmstry lamented in 1658 that there were no "adventures to that purpose" of converting the Muslims in England or the rest of the British Isles.[22] As long as converting the Muslims was seen to be part of the internal religious and political conflict in England, it could never acquire an effective momentum nor translate into missionary institutions similar to those of the Jesuits.

BRITISH PREACHERS AND MUSLIM CONVERTS

In 1586, the first recorded conversion of a Muslim to Protestant Christianity took place in England. The anti-Catholic mood in the England of the 1580s was, not surprisingly, reflected in the sermon describing this event. The sermon was preached by Meredith Hanmer, vicar of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, on October 2, 1586, "at the Baptizing of one Chinano a Turke, borne at Nigropontus."[23] The Turk's place of birth is important since Foxe in *The Acts and Monuments* had referred to "Euboea, or Nigropontus" as one of the islands that bordered Greece and that had been "won likewise by the Turk from the Christians."[24] The defeat of the (Catholic) Venetians at Negropont and the fall of the city in 1470 had been viewed in Christendom as an ominous sign of the growing power of the Turks. By mentioning the Turk's birthplace, Hanmer was showing that, although the city was lost to the Muslims, English Protestants were now reclaiming its inhabitants by the power of their faith.

There are some allusions in contemporary sources to the arrival in England of men such as Chinano, Muslim ex-galley slaves from among the Spaniards: such Muslims were released by English seamen from Spanish ships and brought over to England in order to make their way back to the Ottoman dominions. In 1581, Sir Francis Drake released one hundred

[22] Thomas Warmstry, *The Baptized Turk, or a Narrative of the happy Conversion of Signior Rigep Dandulo* (1658), p. 121.

[23] Meredith Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke: A Sermon preached at the Hospitall of Saint Katherin, adioyning unto her Maiesties Towne the 2. October 1586. at the Baptizing of one Chinano a Turke, borne at Nigropontus* (1586), and "The Epistle Dedicatorie."

[24] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. IV, p. 92. See also William Lithgow, *A Most Delectable ... Discourse:* "Nigroponti was formerly called Euboea," G3 r.

Turks and Moors from Spanish ships,[25] and in 1591, one "Hamet, a distressed Turk," appealed to Queen Elizabeth for assistance: in his account, he told how he had been released by the English from Spanish slavery and how he had come to England in the hope of returning home; but, he added, should the Queen not be able to help him return, he hoped to fight with her soldiers against the common Anglo–Turkish enemy – Spain.[26] A few years later, other "Turks" requested assistance from London merchants trading in North Africa:[27] evidently, and at times of war between England and Spain, or England and France, Turks and Moors fled to England in the hope of finding means of returning home – unless they decided not to return to their countries, in which case they converted to Christianity and settled in England, as Chinano did.

Hanmer started his sermon by praising the "Turke" for refusing to "be baptized in Spain," thereby proving the superiority of Protestantism over Catholicism. And for Hanmer, Protestantism and the conflict between England and Spain were the chief concerns in the discussion of the Muslim's conversion. Throughout his life, Hanmer was a persevering anti-Catholic, and in two pamphlets published in 1581, he had attacked the Jesuits and the Catholic writer Thomas Campion. In the preface to *The Great bragge & challenge of M. Champion a Iesuite*, Hanmer showed a fear of the Jesuits that superseded his fear of the Turks and the Saracens. The latter infidels, he wrote, were "infinite" in numbers but

> the Pope hath lately about 40 yeares past confirmed the sect of Iesuits, & sends them abroad in the euening of the world with the Anabaptists, & in the night season, with the enemy of God and man, to sow tares among the wheat ... But as touching this late order of Iesuits, this society passeth all other sectes in Hypocrisie & outward shew of holines.[28]

With this fear of the Catholics still haunting him in 1586, Hanmer turned the conversion of the "Turke" into an anti-Catholic polemic and a celebration of the Church of England. The convert, according to Hanmer, was convinced that "if there were not a God in England, there was none no where." For the convert, English Protestantism was the most accurate form not only of Christianity but of all monotheisms. To emphasize its pure doctrine and the corruption of other dogma, Hanmer compared what he

[25] *Venetian State Papers, 1581–91*, p. 149. See also chapter 11, "Turks, Moors, Blacks, and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage," in David B. Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies: America, 1500–1625* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1990), pp. 197–205.

[26] *C.S.P. Domestic, Elizabeth, 1591*, vol. 111, pp. 109–110.

[27] G. B. Harrison, *An Elizabethan Journal* (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1929), p. 92.

[28] *The Great bragge & challenge of M. Champion a Iesuite, commonlye called Edmund Campion, latelye arriued in Englande* (1581), preface.

believed were the odious similarities between Islamic and Catholic rituals of worship such as veneration of, and pilgrimages to, the saints (probably to the shrines of Marabouts in North African Islam), and other "popishe, nay ... Turkish and Mohemeticall" deviations. Hanmer was excited that the Turk accepted Christianity after he had met with true English Protestantism: the "Turke," he wrote, who was about forty years old, had been enslaved by the Spaniards for twenty-five years and was freed by Sir Francis Drake. The reasons he converted to English Christianity were twofold: before coming to England, he had been impressed by the virtue, modesty and godliness of Englishmen, especially as these qualities were exemplified to him by the noble behavior of Sir Francis Drake and William Hawkins. Then, after arriving in England, he was impressed by the compassion of Englishmen and by their social system which cared for the poor and the aged – during Elizabeth's reign, the Pension Act was passed for supporting disabled sailors and soldiers. English Christianity proved to be much more convincing than Catholicism, which had been preached to him during his captivity by a friar but which he had rejected after seeing how cruel Catholics were in "shedding of bloud" and how idolatrous in "worshiping of Images." The friar had provided a poor model of Christianity, whereas Drake and Hawkins had presented the highest example of English Protestantism. No wonder that, after baptism, the convert adopted the name William – the Christian name of Captain Hawkins.[29]

This emphasis on the exemplary behavior of Christians is striking since Hanmer's own life was riddled with notoriety and libel.[30] Still, Hanmer so believed in example that he even hoped the Sultan, learning of the exemplary faith of the Queen of England, would view Protestantism in a favorable light. Citing a letter sent to her on "the 15. of March, and in the yeare of great Jesu (so hee writeth) 1579," Hanmer alleged that Sultan Murad III had stated the following:

> We know that your soveraigne Maiesty among al the Christians have the most sound religion, and therefore the Christians thoroughout the world envy your highnes, who if they could, they would hurt.[31]

Meredith confirmed that the Sultan was aware of England's Catholic enemies who would "hurt" the Protestant Queen. As a result, the Sultan had grown to despise the Papists: the "great Turk at Istanbul," wrote Hanmer, "laugheth the pope & his prelates to scorn for their pride, the Christian churches he reuileth, and not without cause for their idols & images."[32] There was no doubt in Hanmer's mind that the reason why the Muslims had not converted was because of Catholic "Idolatrers, worshiping of Images."

[29] Hanmer, *Baptizing of a Turke*, F1 v, B1 r, "The Epistle Dedicatorie."
[30] See the article on him in *D.N.B.* [31] Hanmer, *Baptizing of a Turke*, A4 r.

Hanmer ended his sermon with a section on "The way to please God, & meane to win them & c." (Muslims). He called for an evangelistic push into the world of Islam: that Christians should seek the treasures of Africa and India but not the souls therein was shameful. He also lamented the fact that "true" Christianity had been cornered by both Islam and Catholicism in northern Europe, where "so far that it seemeth (if we looke for fruits) all [are] frozen." Many Muslims were eager to convert, Hanmer believed, including the "Nigros of Senega":[33] Protestants thus had to revitalize the Christian faith by defeating Catholicism so that Muslims both in the Ottoman Empire and elsewhere would not be dissuaded from Christianity by the idolatry of Rome: "Let the Church of God bee swept [of Popery], then will the heathens, the Jews, the Turks & Saracens the sooner come in."[34] With Catholicism out of the way, the glory of the Protestant Churches could truly begin. And with the conversion of Chinano, the evidence pointed to just that beginning.

Subsequent Elizabethan and Jacobean writings did not bear out this ambitious beginning. There are very few references in English sources to Muslim conversions to Christianity anywhere in Europe, and even fewer occurring in England. John Sanderson wrote in 1591 that he had never heard of any Muslim "turne Greeke"

> except that Consul at Petras, who did cause the Greeke Priests newly to baptize him, which they performed, and did name him John Gold; being at the very instant demanded (by an honest Englishman) his meaning, his answere was, that he had lived in credit amongst those Greekes, so his purpose was to be carried to his Grave with credit, a very notable Whoremaster, one of the cutters of the Cabina in Turkie.[35]

Converting from Islam to Christianity raised the possibility of hypocrisy and fraud. Such was the case of the Moriscos of Spain who, until their final expulsion in 1609, were always suspected by their compatriots of an expedient and superficial conversion to Christianity. Othello's conversion in Shakespeare's 1604 play thus also may have been viewed with suspicion by the Jacobean audience: in 2.3.333–335, Iago mentioned the power of Desdemona which could make Othello renounce his baptism – suggesting thereby that the Moor's conversion was not motivated by faith but by

[32] *Ibid.*, 5 r. [33] *Ibid.*, 3 v; 5 r. [34] *Ibid.*, F1 r. [35] *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. IX, p. 427.

sexual desire.[36] Shakespeare's choice of a converted Muslim (Morisco?) as his protagonist may have also been inspired by the figure of Hasan al-Wazzan/Leo Africanus (1494–1552), the Muslim traveler who had converted to Christianity in Rome but who had later reconverted to Islam and returned to his native North Africa. In 1605, an allowance was paid to a Turkish captive who converted to Christianity in England and assumed the name of John Baptista.[37]

While the historical documents provide very few examples of Muslim conversion to Christianity in England, literary works are full of such conversions. Robert Greene's *The First Part of the Most Tyrannicall Tragedie and Raigne of Selimus, Emperour of the Turkes* (1588) shows Corcut, the brother of Selim, converting to Christianity before his death;[38] Thomas Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West Part II* shows Joffer converting to Christianity because of its higher moral codes; Massinger's *Renegadoe* shows the conversion of the Muslim queen Donusa – an episode which Dryden repeated in the conversion of the Mufti's daughter, Morayma, in *Don Sebastian*. In *Urania* (1621), Mary Wroth showed how the King of Cyprus, along with his Queen, "out of love to the Christian Faith, which before he contemned, seeing such excellent, and happy Princes professors of it, desired to receive it," and after his conversion, the whole island became Christian.[39] In *The City-Night-Cap* (c. 1624), Robert Davenport showed a Muslim slave who converted to Christianity – but only in order to try and kill his master.[40]

All these conversions were fictional and were produced by an English literary sensibility that was conscious of the failure to fulfill New Testamental and ideological goals in converting the Muslims: fiction served to make a bitter truth more palatable. Also fictional were the accounts in non-literary sources: in 1601, George Manwaring declared that Shah Abbas was

[36] Three views have prevailed in *Othello* criticism about the Moor's religion: he was a Muslim (Thomas Rymer, 1693), a Christian (Charles Gildon, 1694, and Samuel Chew, 1937) or a convert from Islam to Christianity: *Shakespeare The Critical Heritage*, ed. Brian Vickers (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), vol. II, pp. 23 and 74. The last view was proposed by A. W. Schlegel who stated in his *Lectures* of 1815 that the Italian source which Shakespeare relied on for the plot of *Othello*, Cinthio, had presented the protagonist as "a baptized Saracen of the northern coast of Africa": August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*, 2 vols. (1815), vol. II, p. 189.

[37] *C.S.P. Domestic, James I, 1603–1610*, vol. VIII, p. 216. For Shakespeare and Africanus, see Lois Whitney, "Did Shakespeare Know 'Leo Africanus'?" *PMLA*, 37 (1922): 470–483; for Othello as a Morisco, see Barbara Everett, "'Spanish' Othello: The making of Shakespeare's Moor," *Shakespeare Survey*, 35 (1982): 101–112.

[38] Robert Greene, *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, 15 vols., ed. Alexander B. Grosart (New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), vol. XIV, p. 274, l. 1283.

[39] Lady Mary Wroth, *The First Part of the Countess of Montgomery's Urania*, ed. Josephine A. Roberts (Binghamton, NY: Mediaeval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1995), p. 170.

[40] *The Works of Robert Davenport*, 3 vols., ed. A. H. Bullen (New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1964, first publ. 1890), vol. III, act 5, scene 1.

"almost a Christian in heart," a view which the authors of *The Travailes of the Three English Brothers* (1607) were not unwilling to propagate; in 1628, Edward Kellet announced that "diuerse Turkes" had converted to Christianity in Istanbul, and that a "famous eminent Priest" there had paid with his life for Christ.[41] Many of his followers had also ended up as "Gally-slaues for refusing Mahomet, and adhering to Christ." In the early 1640s, when England's relations with the Ottoman Sultan were strained as a result of Muslim–English piracy in the Mediterranean, *Extraordinary Newes from Constantinople* was published in London describing a vision which the "great Turke" allegedly had had. After the magicians had deciphered that ominous vision, the English translator (from the French) declared that many of those magicians hastened to have themselves "baptized."[42]

While English writers were fabricating accounts of Muslim conversions, others were contending with the reports of Muslim conversions to Catholicism on the continent or to Dutch Calvinism in the Far East. As early as 1581, it was reported to Queen Elizabeth that "the Grand Signior's mother, wife, and sister" were preparing to convert to "the Romish Religion":[43] although the report was inaccurate, it had an unsettling impact on London preachers. In 1601, a few members of the Persian delegation that arrived in Rome (with Sir Robert Shirley as ambassador) were baptized, and in 1604, a few more embraced Christianity:[44] this was the first occurrence of the conversion to (Catholic) Christianity of Muslim royalty and high officials in seventeenth-century Europe. In 1608, it was (inaccurately) reported that the "Persian King [was] to become a Christian," and in 1619, it was (accurately) reported to the East India Company from Jakarta that "Vice-Governor Vermeer" had promised to "admit Moors or Mahometans into his government if they renounced their religion and embraced Christianity ... the greater part have offered to embrace Christianity."[45] In February 1645, John Evelyn witnessed the conversion of a Turk and a Jew to Christianity in Rome and described the arrangements which were made for what seemed to him to be regular occurrences there:

[41] George Manwaring, *A True Discourse* in *Sir Anthony Sherley*, ed. Ross, p. 225; for an edition of the play see Sha'ban, "The Mohammedan World"; Kellet, *A Returne from Argier*, pp. 20–21.

[42] *Extraordinary Newes from Constantinople November the 27. 1641* (1641), p. 9.

[43] *C.S.P. Foreign, Elizabeth I, 1581–1582*, vol. XV, p. 49.

[44] *The Fugger News-Letters, First Series*, p. 243 and the account in *Don Juan of Persia: A Shi'ah Catholic, 1560–1604*, trans. and ed. G. Le Strange (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1926), chapter 6.

[45] *C.S.P. Colonial, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1516*, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury (London, 1862), p. 172; *C.S.P. Colonial, 1617–1621*, p. 293.

> They [Turk and Jew] were clad in White, then exorcis'd at their entering the church with aboundance of Ceremonies, when lead into the Quire, they were baptized by a Bishop in Pontificalibus: The Turk lived afterwards in Rome, sold hot-waters, & would bring us presents when he met us.[46]

With such evidence before them, Protestant Englishmen knew that they were lagging behind the Catholics and the Dutch – even the Greek Orthodox[47] – in converting the Muslims.

Although in the Restoration period, John Evelyn praised the work of Dr. Isaac Basire in "planting the Church of England, in divers parts of the Levant & Asia," there was no evidence to support Evelyn's hope that Muslims would be converted to Anglicanism.[48] Actually, Basire, who had started his missionary journey in 1647, did not seem to have worked toward the conversion of the Muslims but of the Eastern Christians. It is therefore important that – aside from Basire – the only English men and women who are known to have gone overseas to evangelize the Muslims were the Quakers, a group that was not in the theological mainstream but was a small and persecuted sect.

Shortly after the Quaker movement was founded in the early 1650s, a number of Quakers went to Istanbul and Palestine to preach the gospel, and they were duly praised for their efforts "over seas to Jerusalem" by George Fox in his journal of 1657.[49] In the autumn of the same year, George Robinson was so well received by the Muslims of Palestine that he was frequently helped by them against the machinations of the local friars.[50] Although he did not succeed in converting any Muslims, perhaps because the friars kept on harassing him, he won the hearts of many by his unwavering faith.[51] In April 1658, the consul in Marseilles reported to Secretary Thurloe that in the previous February, six Quakers had arrived in Smyrna, "3 men and 3 women, who pretended to goe to convert the grand signior; but the consill at Smirna hindered them." The "hindering," however, was not successful because in the summer of that year, 35-year-

[46] *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. II, p. 386.

[47] For Muslim converts among the Eastern Christians, see the references in Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, vol. II, chapter 35.

[48] *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. III, p. 303; see also Worthington, *The Diary*, vol. II, pp. 320–323 and the *D.N.B.* article on Basire.

[49] *The Journal of George Fox*, 2 vols., ed. Norman Penny (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911, repr. 1952), vol. II, p. 338.

[50] William Sewel, *The History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers*, 2 vols. (New York, 1844), vol. I, p. 219. See also Blount, *A Voyage*, p. 109 for a similar view: "I often was helpt by Turkes, and Renegadoes, against the malice of their ['Romish'] Christians."

[51] The Quakers were not alone in complaining about the bigotry of Catholics – particularly of Franciscan friars: native Christian Arabs in Palestine did so too: see Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, pp. 145–146.

old Mary Fisher managed to be granted an audience by Sultan Mohammad IV, who listened to her message about Christ, praised her for her convictions, and offered her residence in the city. He later helped her return safely to England.[52] The fact that she, and Robinson earlier, returned unharmed was evidence of Muslim tolerance of dedicated Christians.

Having started as a movement propagated in England through the preaching of the "inner light," the Quakers were extending their mission into non-Christian territory. To fulfill this goal, the Quakers realized how necessary it was to learn Arabic and Turkish: while Basire had gone to the Levant without knowing a single Eastern language, Fox believed in mastering the languages of the Muslims. In 1660, he included a unit on Arabic in his *A Battle-Door for Teachers and Professors to Learn Singular and Plural*.[53] and in 1682 he urged Quaker captives to "learn the Turks and Moors' language, that you might be the more enabled to direct them to the grace and spirit of God."[54] By mastering the languages of the Muslims, and by reading some of their literature, Fox believed that the Quakers would become more familiar with the Muslims and thus less rigid in their approach and dialogue.

The Quaker effort to convert the Muslims benefited from Fox's attitude. In 1660, John Perrot wrote a pamphlet, *A Visitation of Love and Gentle Greeting of the Turk, And tender tryal of his thoughts for God*, in which he urged the Turk, who was "greatest in strength (of the arm of flesh) and mightiest in power in that which (as grass) is subject to wither," to "listen to the word of the Lord God in silence, (mark) listen to hear the word of the Lord in spirit, in silence."[55] Perrot hoped to convert the Turks to the Christianity of the Quakers since he advised them to follow the Quakers in "silent" prayer and openings. A year later, another address to the Turk was composed, and although the author's name is stated as "John" only, it is evident from the tone and content of the treatise that it is Perrot's. In *Blessed Openings of a Day of good Things to the Turks*, Perrot addressed himself to the "Rulers, Ancients, and Elders of their Land, and whomsoever else it may concern" (titlepage). His argument for conversion was a thoroughly rational one: throughout this pamphlet, as in the 1660 pamphlet too, there are no references to Jesus

[52] Thomas Birch, *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq.*, 7 vols. (London, 1742), vol. VII, p. 32; Sewel, *The History of the ... Quakers*, vol. I, pp. 219–223; William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961, first publ. 1912), pp. 418–423.

[53] Fox, *A Battle-Door for Teachers and Professors to Learn Singular and Plural: You to Many, and thou to One; Singular one, Thou; Plural many, You* (1660), pp. 77–88.

[54] Fox, *A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles, Letters, and Testimonies* in *Works* (Philadelphia, 1831), vol. VIII, p. 237.

[55] John Perrot, *A Visitation of Love and Gentle Greeting of the Turk, and tender tryal of his thoughts for God* (1660), pp. 4, 12–13.

nor are there quotations from the Bible. The pamphlet is unusual in comparison with contemporary non-Quaker writings addressed to the Muslims: it does not attack the theology of Islam directly nor does it rely for legitimacy on the inerrancy of the Christian revelation. The author had traveled among the Muslims and had learned something about their religious culture. He addressed them from a carefully chosen position which suggests that he might just have been the "John the Quaker" who was in Istanbul in 1661, trying to convert the same Sultan whom Fisher had earlier tried to convert.[56] Throughout his conversionist preaching, "John" appealed exclusively to reason:

> (O ye Rulers and Elders of the Turks) I am very favourably perswaded of you, that you will rationally in an open and easie understanding be given to credit and believe this declaration unto you.[57]

Because the author was a Quaker, he had no baptism to advocate – a ritual that alienated Muslims because of its sacramentalism – nor any other ecclesiastical mystery; he sought to convert by alerting the Muslims to their inner light of reason, "the Light in all your Consciences." When each Muslim gives "his whole mind into the light, it must of necessity redeem & free man from all sin." "John" concluded his pamphlet by declaring that God has

> put into his creature man a rational soul . . . by the same Law of his own light & life, all men may be led up to the state in which man was blessed before transgression, cruelty or enmity was conceived; And therefore unto you this is the word of commandment of the Lord God of heaven and earth, even unto you O ye Heads and Rulers of the TURKS, that in obedience you may be blessed of the God of life for ever.[58]

The passage shows the association between the convert and prelapsarian Adam: the conversion of the Muslims heralded the return of the interior Eden and the beginning of the kingdom of God in the hearts of men. As Muslims shared in the inner light of mankind, so they shared in the paradisiacal condition and the eschatological completion.

Such a Quaker vision of fulfillment for Muslims and Christians alike was supported by Quaker actions even under the most extenuating conditions. In his address *To the Great Turk*, George Fox included a *Postscript* about "George Pattisons taking the Turks about the 8 Month 1663." While on

[56] John Covel, *Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covel, 1670–1679* in *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, ed. J. Theodore Bent (New York: Burt Franklin, 1964, first publ. 1893), p. xxv.
[57] *The Blessed Openings of a Day of good Things to the Turks* (1661), p. 4.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

> the high seas, Pattison's ship was captured by the Turks. The horrible prospect of being sold as a slave in "Argier" overwhelmed Pattison with fear, but then he overcame that fear and led his men against the Turks on the firm condition, in line with Quaker pacifist teachings, that not one Turk should be killed. Having succeeded in capturing the Turks with no loss of life, the English sailors did not sell them as slaves but took them back to Algiers. The Quakers were so earnest in fulfilling their promise to the Turks that they risked their own lives trying to navigate past Spanish ships and harbors: for as Protestants, they were in as much danger from the Catholics as the Muslims were. After taking the Turks to "their own Countrey," the ship returned to England, whereupon King Charles II came in person to the vessel in order to apprise himself of the marvelous tale of courage and compassion.[59]

The Quakers pursued their missionary effort toward the Muslims to such an extent that they sometimes provoked the anger of their compatriots who resided in the Ottoman Empire. In 1661, Henry Fell and John Stubs were deported from Cairo by the English Consul there because they had been trying to convert the Muslims. On their way to the ship that was to take them out of Cairo, they started throwing pamphlets in the streets "in Latine, Hebrew and Arabique." Had they stayed a little longer, added the Consul, Richard Bendish, they would have found themselves in serious trouble with the Muslim authorities: for the Turks prohibited Arabic printing in the Empire in order not to demean the language of the Qur'an: the fact that the Quakers threw Arabic pamphlets on the streets would have led to severe punishment. A year later, further evangelistic activity to the Muslims was undertaken by two Quakers in Smyrna, Daniel Baker and Richard Scosthrop. Again, opposition to their mission came from their own co-religionists who were worried that the Quakers might provoke the Turkish authorities. Indeed, in the account that they wrote of their persecution, the Quakers mentioned specifically how the consul in Smyrna had sent "a Turks Jannesary" to haul them to prison. Notwithstanding the hostility of his compatriots, Baker insisted that he would not relent in spreading the Quaker message "in every Conscience, whether Turks, Jews, Christians or Heathens, under what name or denomination soever they be called."[60]

While these Quakers were bothersome in the eyes of their co-religionists, others were dangerous, for there were some Quakers who felt that only a forceful proclamation of the Christian creed in the heart of the Muslim

[59] George Fox, *To the Great Turk and the King at Argiers* (1680), pp. 15–20.
[60] Daniel Baker, *A Clear Voice of Truth Sounded forth* (1662), pp. 28–29 and pp. 11, 26.

world would produce the desired conversionist effects. In 1673, and after preaching for a few months in Rome to the Popish "leviathan," four Yorkshire Quakers, John Watson, William Stubbs, Nathaniel Golden and Rowland Jenkins, went to Istanbul and entered the "Mosecs and Temples" to proclaim faith in Christ. They were apprehended and "bastinado'd," but they were not deterred, and using "wooden crutches," they returned to their mission, to be apprehended again and condemned to death. Until the very last, they were not afraid, and they submitted to their execution with the full belief that their martyrdom was essential for the propagation of Christianity among the unbelievers.[61]

Such suicidal zeal did not appeal to Restoration Britons with their rationalist theology and latitudinarianism. The author of the above pamphlet on the Yorkshire Quakers, Elias Wilson, expressed his displeasure at the "rashness of these Quakers," and he explained that their deaths caused the English merchants great consternation and brought them into danger: indeed, had it not been for the English Consul in Istanbul, Sir Paul Rycaut, the Vizier Basha might have inflicted heavy penalties on the Quakers' co-nationals.[62] Those Yorkshire evangelists, however, were the Quaker exception to the rule: the Quakers lived the teachings of their pacifist faith even during times of captivity by Muslims. In return, they were allowed more freedom in their religious meetings than other Christian groups: Quaker captives in North Africa reported that "the Turks approved of Friends' Meetings there, and were very desirous of knowing the Friends' way of worship."[63] Perhaps through the example of devotion and endurance, they raised the interest of their captors in their distinct branch of Christianity.

The Quakers never presented themselves to the Muslims except from the position of sharing with them a common humanity: they never denounced them as "infidels" nor prided themselves on their Englishness. For the Quakers, who were, as they repeatedly wrote, held by the world in "scorn," all humans, whether Jews, Muslims or Britons, belonged to the family of God. No wonder that it was the Quaker William Penn who pro-

[61] Elias Wilson, *Strange and Wonderful News from Italy, or a True and Impartial Relation of the Travels, Adventures and Martyrdome of four eminent Quakers of York-shire* (1673), p. 7. It is important to note here that the Hanafi school of Islamic jurisprudence which was adopted by the Ottomans is willing to exercise "patience" when non-Muslims blaspheme against Islam; had these Quakers behaved similarly in North Africa, where the Maliki school prevailed, and which was stricter in its codes than the Hanafi, the Quakers would not have had a second chance of blaspheming the Prophet.

[62] *Ibid.* Veryard mentioned the preaching of these Quakers in Rome but did not allude to their visit to Istanbul: *An Account*, p. 187.

[63] Samuel Tuke, *Account of the Slavery of Friends in the Barbary States, towards the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Edward Marsh, 1848), p. 13.

posed the first plan ever for European unity. In 1693, Penn pondered the best way in which the European nations could end their wars and enjoy the fruits of civilization and progress. The most effective way for peace, he wrote, was for Christendom to invite the Muslim Turks and the Muscovites to send delegations to the European Parliament – in short to welcome the Muslims to sit at the same international table as the Orthodox, the Protestant and the Catholic Christians. Europe was to establish a "Dyet, Parliament, or Estates" to be united in holy peace rather than holy war.[64] From a religious hope for world unity, Penn had moved to a political realization of that unity.

THE COMENIAN LEGACY

The above examples show that the motivation to convert the Muslims developed in England partly as a result of political and denominational influences. Hanmer wanted Muslims to convert in order to assist Anglicans against Catholics, while the Quakers sought to convert the Muslims in order to realize the Kingdom of the Saints in the world. But there were other motivations that reached Britons from continental writers, specifically from central European theologians who had experienced the Ottoman threat first hand. In 1531, the German reformer Sebastian Franck proclaimed a common humanity with the Muslims which made possible the hope of their Christian salvation:

> For God is no respecter of persons but instead is to the Greeks as to the Barbarian and the Turk, to the lord as to the servant, so long as they retain the light which has shined upon them and gives their heart an eternal glow.[65]

Three quarters of a century later, the German mystic, Jacob Boehme, whose impact was widely felt in England after the Civil Wars,[66] was quoted

[64] William Penn, *An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe*, "Titlepage," (1693). It is possible to detect a similar hope – at least for peaceful commercial intercourse between England and the Ottomans – in Rycaut's work: see the study by C. J. Heywood, "Sir Paul Rycaut, A Seventeenth-Century Observer of the Ottoman State: Notes for a Study," in *English and Continental Views of the Ottoman Empire, 1500–1800*, introd. G. E. von Grunebaum (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972), esp. p. 55.

[65] Sebastian Franck, *A Letter to John Campanus* (1531) in *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, ed. George Huntston Williams (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957), p. 150; see also Robert H. Schwoebel, "Coexistence, Conversion, and the Crusade against the Turks," *Studies in the Renaissance*, 12 (1965): 164–187 and E. J. Furcha, "'Turks and Heathens Are Our Kin': The Notion of Tolerance in the Works of Hans Denck and Sebastian Franck," in *Difference & Dissent: Theories of Tolerance in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Cary J. Nederman and John Christian Laursen (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1996), pp. 83–99.

[66] S. Hutin, *Les Disciples Anglais de Jacob Boehme* (Paris: Editions Denoel, 1960); Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1928, first publ. 1914), chapter 12.

by one of his Welsh disciples, William Erbery, as having expressed hopes for the conversion of the Muslims:

> Jacob Behme compares Christians to the Son who said, He would go to the Vineyard but went not. And the Turks to the second Son, who told the Father, He would not go, but afterwards repented and went, Mat. 21.28,29 . . . [The] Turks shall come in again with great joy and humility to Abraham, viz, to Christ.[67]

A contemporary of Boehme (but younger) and a leading central European theologian in favor of the peaceable conversion of the Muslims to Christianity was the Moravian writer John Amos Comenius, a man who had witnessed the onslaught of the Ottoman armies but who affirmed the essential humanity of the enemy and the hope for that enemy's redemption.

From the early 1640s on, the legacy of Comenius was deeply felt in England and the rest of Britain – a legacy that was expressed in his educational policy and in linking Christ's millennial kingdom on earth to the conversion of the Muslims (and the Jews). Influenced by Ramon Lull and the apocalyptic tradition of the Franciscans in the thirteenth century (which had specifically linked evangelism to the Muslims with the eschaton), Comenius advanced the view that since the Muslims shared with Christians a common God-given rationality, it was possible to use reason to convert them to the Christian creed.

Throughout his life, Comenius had entertained hopes for the conversion of the Jews as part of the fulfillment of the millennium:[68] now, and within the same millenarian context, he extended that hope to the Muslims. Such a conversionist goal necessitated that Comenius proclaim respect, even support, for Muslims. By so doing, he was not unlike numerous groups of Protestants throughout the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries who supported the Turks because they offered Protestants limited toleration in Central Europe while the Habsburg Catholics did not.[69] Indeed, the Ottoman Empire proved in the course of the sixteenth century to be an "Ally of the Reformation" against Catholic powers, while the spread of Protestantism in Hungary until the end of that century was in part a result of Ottoman toleration.[70]

Comenius feared the Ottoman Turks but also recognized the impor-

[67] *The Testimony of William Erbery*, pp. 333–334.

[68] H. R. Trevor-Roper, *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change* (London: Macmillan, 1972, 2nd edn.), chapter 5.

[69] Before the battle of Mohacs in 1526, the Protestant Diets resisted helping the Catholic King Louis against the Turks because they viewed the Pope and not the Sultan as their chief enemy: Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries*, p. 185.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 193; Cole, *The Ottoman Impact*, pp. 87–88.

tance of their religious culture.[71] In the *Labyrinth* (an allegorical narrative written in 1623 but published in 1631), the imaginary traveler visited the lands of Islam: he entered a mosque, observing the absence of any ornaments there "except a few letters on the walls and carpets on the floor." He also noted the quiet and pious demeanor of the worshipers, their white dress, and their love of cleanliness. As a result, the traveler "felt some affection" for the Muslims. Of course that affection was extended to the Muslims and not to their theology, which he declared to be founded "on the air of vain opinion" and to have acquired its legitimacy by the edge of the sword. The traveler concluded that as among the Christians, so among the various Muslim denominations, there was strife that was "disputed by means of iron and fire till it was terrible to behold."[72]

The passage shows Comenius hostile to Islamic theology and military violence but recognizing relatively favorable features in the Muslims themselves. Comenius had enough emotional distance to evaluate the Muslims' religious culture without prejudice (he was, after all, writing at a time when the Ottoman armies had been temporarily halted in Central Europe). In his *Reformation of Schooles* (1642), he invited the "Arabians" to participate in furnishing Christians with their "ornaments" of learning.[73] For Comenius there was wisdom to be learned from the non-Christian East, a wisdom to which he had been introduced by his mentor Andreae.[74] In *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (first published in 1658), Comenius included a woodcut of the most basic characteristics of Islam: in the explanation of the woodcut, he indicated that Muslims devoutly worshiped God, desisted from wine, like the Arians did not recognize the divinity of Jesus and abluted before prayer.[75] In another book written in the 1650s, *Pampaedia*, Comenius formulated a new method of education for European schools. Not surprisingly for one who had admired Arabian knowledge, he recalled the method of Muslim instruction in the Qur'an and favorably commented on its effectiveness:

[71] For Comenius's fear of the Turks, see his letter to Samuel Hartlib: "Turca christiani orbis ostia non pulsat, sed occupat" (October 1660) in Worthington, *The Diary*, vol. 1, p. 227. But Comenius feared the Pope more than the Turk: see *A Generall Table of Europe, representing The Present and Future State thereof . . . From the Prophecies of the three late German Prophets, KOTTERUS, CHRISTINA, AND DRABICUS* (1670), pp. 116–160.

[72] John Amos Komensky, *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart*, ed. and trans. Count Lutzow (New York, E. P. Dutton & Co. 1901, repr. 1971), pp. 168–170.

[73] John Amos Comenius, *A Reformation of Schooles, Designed in Two excellent Treatises* (1642), p. 33.

[74] For Comenius's familiarity with the *Fama*, see Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, chapter 12. For a study of the impact of Andreae, see the extensive introduction in Felix Emil Held, *Christianopolis: An Ideal State of the Seventeenth Century* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1916).

[75] *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (1685), chap. CXLIX, pp. 306–307.

> The words of Hoornbeck, who takes from Clenard [Nicolaus Clenard 1493–1542] the description of the method used by the Mohammedans to teach the Arabic tongue in their schools are worthy of note: "There is among them this custom – from their earliest years they are taught the Koran word for word by heart, impressing on their memories a book they do not understand. No copy of the book appears in any of their schools, but the teacher commits the text to memory and writes it on a wooden tablet, for the child to store away in his mind; the next day he writes them another text, until in the space of a year or two they have learned the whole of the Koran by heart. You will find many more who know the Koran in this way, than who have the book itself at home." See how they hide their knowledge in their hearts, not in books, thanks to constant exercise.[76]

In his overall educational outlook, Comenius opposed the "rote" method of instruction. But as he read about the Muslims, he recognized that they offered an excellent model of how, in the teaching of the youth, examples by "tablets" provided the most "efficient way of learning": the Muslims used visual aids to assist the development of memory. Comenius admired this method of instruction which may have led him to the pictorial model in *Orbis*.

This respect (albeit limited) for Arab and Muslim cultural expression allowed Comenius to hope for Muslim conversion. For him, the Muslims deserved to be in Christendom – in the *unio christiana*, which along with Andreae, he and his British disciples hoped to establish. Such hope of conversion was stated explicitly in *The Way of Light*, a book written in 1642 and widely circulated in manuscript until its publication in 1668. In this book, Comenius proclaimed a commonality of reason among all human beings, whether they were Christian or Muslim, Greek or Arab, male or female. For him there were "Universal Notions, original and innate" that had been placed by God in all mankind and which constituted the "foundations of our reason."[77] It was because of these universal "foundations" that Christians could convince Muslims of their faith on purely rational grounds. Converting the Muslim, not destroying him, was Comenius's priority, and the conversion was to be conducted intellectually, not militarily.

Comenius believed in a universality of knowledge that would bring all peoples under the shadow of the cross. Although his vision was theological, not social, he hoped to realize that vision by a policy of education that would not distinguish between peoples on either religious or class bases.

[76] *The Pampaedia* in *John Amos Comenius on Education*. With an Introduction by Jean Piaget (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967), pp. 192–193. Clenard's work to which reference was being made is, *Nicolai Clenardi Peregrinationum ac de rebus machometicis epistolae elegentissimae* (1550).

[77] John Amos Comenius, *The Way of Light*, trans. E. T. Campagnac (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1938), p. 24.

This Christian universalism did not have a place for non-Christian faiths, but, instead of confronting and excluding the non-Christians – in this case the Muslims – it sought to embrace them. That is why Comenius was happy to learn in 1641/42 that his book, *Januae Linguarum*, had been translated into Arabic by Pieter van Gool, a Carmelite friar at Aleppo, and that it was going to be translated into Persian, Turkish and Mongolian. Comenius hoped that the translation of his works into the languages of Muslims would promote in them "the study of the Bible."[78] For Comenius, the conversion of the Muslims to Christianity required vast preparation on the part of Christians: the latter needed to make available to Muslims Christian material in a language accessible to Muslims. Only after careful reading and study could Muslims convert – and the millennium begin.

In the last decade of his life, Comenius edited in *Lux e Tenebris* the prophecy of Nicholas Drabicus, his life-long friend. In the *Revelationes* of 1664, Drabicus had expressed hope for the Christian conversion of the "orientales" including the "Turcae, Persae, Tartari, Indi & c." On page 473, there is a magnificent woodcut showing the turbaned orientals looking up to "Iesvs Nazarenus Christvs Filius Dei Vivi." Significant of Comenius's fear of Catholicism, the Muslims, along with the Eastern Christians, were to prosecute God's will against the Catholic dominions of Italy, Germany and Spain: once they destroyed the Pope, they would "return with the Light of the Gospel for a Reward." Conversion to Christianity would be God's reward to the Muslims for helping His cause against His enemy – the Papist. Although Comenius disputed many of the positions of Drabicus, the Moravian "Prophet," he did not reject the latter's call for converting the non-Christians. Until the very last, Comenius remained convinced of the possibility of winning over the Muslims.[79]

Comenius spent less than a year in England, between September 1641 and June 1642. But as Hugh Trevor-Roper has observed, "if Comenius himself never returned to England, that did not mean that his work there

[78] Comenius, *Methodus XVII*, quoted in John Edward Sadler, *J. A. Comenius and the Concept of Universal Education* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966), p. 282. See also Robert Fitzgibbon Young, *Comenius in England* (New York: Arno Press, 1971, first publ. 1932), p. 48. See the letter by Johann Morian to Hartlib (March 24, 1639) where the former describes the attempt to have the *Lingua* translated into Arabic by "einen Arabern" (*HP*, 37/13A). S. S. Laurie, *John Amos Comenius, Bishop of the Moravians* (New York: Burt Franklin Reprints, 1972, first publ. 1892), p. 70 maintains that Comenius learned Turkish in order to prepare a translation of the Bible into that language. But there is no evidence to support this view and the first translation of the Bible into Turkish was prepared by William Seaman, a student of Edward Pococke. Seaman also published a *Grammatica Linguae Turcicae* (Oxford, 1670).

[79] *Revelationes Nicolao Drabicio Moravo in Lux e Tenebris* (1664), p. 473. See "revelation" DCVIII on May 24, 1664, and pp. 472, 493–494, 256.

was forgotten. Far from it."[80] In the 1640s and 50s, no writer in England could escape the eschatological urgency which Comenius had nurtured; neither could that writer ignore the challenge of Baconian science as it was integrated into English Puritanism by the educational writings of Comenius and his followers. Indeed, this combination of eschatology and rationalism produced a strong motivation for evangelizing the Muslims. Because that combination was intellectually and theologically prominent during the Interregnum and the early Restoration periods, it is not surprising that the only Muslim conversions to Christianity that occurred in England in the seventeenth century were effected by theologians who had come under the sway of John Amos Comenius.

The legacy of Comenius is recognized in England and the rest of the British Isles in the work of his two dedicated followers, Samuel Hartlib and John Durie. Both believed that the messianic age would begin after the advancement of learning and the knowledge of Christ had spread to the ends of the world.[81] For them the Second Coming was predicated on active evangelism. As a result, they became eager conversionists and informed themselves of religious and literary material that could be instrumental in addressing the Muslims (and the Jews). Hartlib frequently expressed his hope for a good translation of the Qur'an, a concordance and some Muslim commentaries. He also hoped for a translation into Latin of the Arabic refutation of Islam by the Spanish convert Maurus.[82] In 1660, he wrote to Worthington that he had never taken "notice of the work of Jo. Andreae," but that he would do so "hereafter."[83] Hartlib was keeping himself well informed about all published material that could prove useful in the effort to convert the Muslims.

Inasmuch as it was important to make Islamic and counter-Islamic texts available to Christian writers for purposes of refutation, it was equally important to make Christian texts available to Muslims. In 1660, John Ball published *Catechismus fidei Christianae, Turcicae* which William Seaman (who published a Turkish dictionary in 1670) had prepared. It included a long treatise in Turkish and numerous short units in Arabic: there was a translation of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed (which is described in the title as the "Trust of the 318 Fathers who met at Nicea")

[80] Trevor-Roper, *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change*, p. 288.

[81] For a comprehensive study of this subject, see Webster, *The Great Instauration*; see also the introduction by Richard H. Popkin and Thomas F. Wright to John Dury, *The Reformed Librarie-Keeper* (Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1983).

[82] See my forthcoming article on "Alexander Ross" for Hartlib's indifference to, or ignorance of, Ross's translation of the Qur'an.

[83] Worthington, *The Diary*, vol. 1, p. 182.

and the Ten Commandments. Each was seen to be essential for the faith of a Christian.[84] Meanwhile, Samuel Hartlib apprised himself of the work of Edward Pococke who had rendered into Arabic Grotius's *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*. In that text, Grotius had expressed his hope for the conversion of the Muslims on the same rational grounds which Comenius advocated.[85] Hartlib assured his correspondent John Worthington in January 1661 that the treatise had been published and was being dispersed.[86] Robert Boyle, in a letter to Hartlib, praised Pococke because the latter was not busy "making an Independent a Presbyter, or Presbyter an Independent, but . . . converting those to Christianity that are either enemies or strangers to it."[87] A few months later Worthington inquired about the means used "for spreading in the East" Pococke's Arabic text and a fortnight later, he lauded that "charitable design towards the Mahometans."[88] Long after this correspondence, Pococke continued in his conversionist effort and in 1674 published an Arabic translation of the *Book of Common Prayer* and of the *Thirty Nine Articles*. Pococke hoped that the Muslims would become followers of the "English denomination" (*al-bee'a al-ingleeziyya*) and in their morning prayers include an invocation for "*as-sultan Karloos*," Sultan Charles.[89]

The zeal for converting Muslims to Christianity reached its climax in England during the Interregnum. The tension of the wars, the dramatic change in government, and the ongoing rivalry between a triumphant Independent theology and a persevering Church of England produced an

[84] Johannes Ball, *Catechismus fidei Christianae, Turcicae* (c. 1660). It is noteworthy that in the translation of the word "Christian," both the terms "Maseehi" and "Nasara" are used: the first is the Arabic term which Christian Arabs use about themselves; the second is the Arabic term which Muslims use for Christians.

[85] In *True Religion Explained And defended against ye Archenemies thereof in these times* (1632), Hugo Grotius stated:

> It is true indeed, there is not in all men a like capacity or knowledge, and quicke in-sight into all things . . . But the divine goodnesse forbids us to thinke that those men may not know and finde the way to eternall salvation . . . God hath implanted in the mind of man the power and faculty of understanding (pp. 322–323).

See also Guillaume Postel's rationalist approach toward converting the Muslims, cited by D. P. Walker in *The Ancient Theology* (London: Duckworth, 1972), p. 152. For an extensive study of Postel, see Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi*, chapter 3.

[86] Worthington, *The Diary*, vol. 1, p. 259; see also pp. 307–308.

[87] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 161. [88] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 308, 312.

[89] Edward Pococke, *Liturgiae Ecclesiae Anglicanae . . . In Linguam Arabicam traductae* (Oxford, 1674), E2 r. Publishing material in Arabic for the purpose of converting Muslims had already been initiated in Rome where the Medici Press published numerous texts between 1590 and 1610: Hamilton, *William Bedwell*, p. 23. See also Robert Jones, "The Medici Oriental Press (Rome 1584–1614) and the Impact of its Arabic Publications on Northern Europe," in Russell, ed., *The "Arabick" Interest of the Natural Philosophers*, pp. 88–109.

atmosphere of urgent idealism and eschatology. Particularly after the Cromwellian administration was able to negotiate (through its powerful navy) peace treaties with the North African regencies, and after the increase in trade with those regencies brought about an exchange of merchants and diplomats, Londoners and inhabitants of the south and the southwest who had frequently met Muslims on their streets started hoping to convert them to Christianity, thereby winning the war against Islam – and against their own adversaries at home. As with Hanmer in the Elizabethan period, the conversion of the Muslims continued to be seen within the parameter of English goals.

In 1658, an account appeared in London describing the conversion of a Muslim, *The Baptized Turk, Or A Narrative of the happy Conversion of Signior Rigep Dandulo, . . . and of his Admission unto Baptism by Mr. Gunning at Excester-house Chappel the 8th of Novemb. 1657.* While the text is an account of the conversion of Dandulo, there is not as much information about the convert and his background as about the converters and their religious dedication. The text mentions Dr. Peter Gunning, a staunch Royalist who upheld the cause of the Church of England during the Interregnum, Mr. Thirsscross, a Westminster divine, and most prominently Dr. John Gauden, Dean of Bocking in Essex (and reputed author of *Eikon Basilike*), who in a sermon preached on November 19, 1640 had been the first theologian to praise Comenius before the English Parliament.[90] Gauden had thought highly of Comenius's ideals for bringing peace to the European denominations of Christianity: now, a quarter of a century later, he was assisting in another Comenian ideal – the conversion of the Muslims.

The writer of the account, Thomas Warmstry, who was then living at the house of one Lady Laurence, asked Gunning, who conducted the discourse with Dandulo, for an account of the answers given by the latter to the questions on Christian salvation. The relation between the convert and his instructor/s was highly rational, and Gunning explained that his approach to the Muslim was based on the commonality of the "Light of Nature and Right Reason" between Christian and Muslim, English and Turk. This emphasis on rationality was a direct result of the Comenian views in *The Way of Light*. For Gunning, as for Comenius, the conversion was a matter of deliberation and choice: the Turk had to be shown in detail the flawless rationality of Christianity so that his acceptance of that faith would be a fully intellectual act. For that purpose, Gunning turned for

[90] John Gauden, *The Love of Truth and Peace* (1641), where Comenius and Hartlib are praised for their "learning, piety and integrity"; see also Hugh Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in Pre-Industrial Britain, 1500–1700* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1970), p. 101.

assistance to noted scholars on Christian doctrine, specifically to Dr. Gauden. He explained to his readers that he and the convert

> took the rise of our discourse from what we were both agreed in, viz. the Light of Nature and Right Reason, which teacheth us, and hath taught many Heathen Philosophers, that the eternal concernment of our immortal Souls after this life, is to be infinitely preferred before any such considerations of such worldly and temporary losses.[91]

Reason had convinced the convert that he should reject Islam for the more rational religion of Christianity – even if that rejection resulted in hardship. Unlike many Christian converts to Islam who were believed to benefit financially from their apostasy, this man's conversion, emphasized Warmstry, would bring him no gain; on the contrary, it would deprive him of his family and country. Still, Christianity was too reasonable to be sacrificed for personal reasons.

Warmstry viewed the conversion of the Muslim within an eschatological context: it was a propitious sign to the Church of England in "these evil times." The conversion served in the "advancement of the Kingdom of Christ Jesus": it would encourage others to undertake similar activity, thereby increasing the "Fold of the Lord Jesus Christ."[92] Warmstry seized this opportunity to castigate his co-religionists whose immoral lives were antithetical to the teachings of the Church and whose evil conduct discouraged Muslims from embracing Christianity. He warned them of the retribution that awaited them on the day of the Lord: "I am perswaded the wickedness of Christians at the last day, will be charged with the loss and condemnation of the rest of the world."[93] For Warmstry, the conversion heralded the Church's liberation from captivity and the beginning of its new age – a beginning which the Church's enemies resented. No wonder there were detractors trying to "corrupt and to blast the credit of the Work that hath been by Gods mercy wrought upon this our Convert."[94] That the conversion had taken place within the Anglican communion was proof that only the Church of England rested its foundations on God's favor and on the reasonableness of Christian doctrine. Warmstry went on to urge his readers to learn about Islam from the convert in order to refute it rationally: "every conviction doth proceed à concessis [by conviction], and must fetch its strength from some Truths that are granted and agreed upon."[95] Only thus could Protestants bring to fruition God's desire for the conversion of the Muslims; only thus could they escape God's ire at "the last day."

[91] Warmstry, *The Baptized Turk*, 3 v. [92] *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2. [93] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 92. [95] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

The conversion of Dandulo must have greatly agitated the Cromwellian party in London, for Dandulo was signaling the beginning of the Anglican, not the Saints', eschaton, and demonstrating the appeal, not of the sectaries, but of the Church of England to Muslims. As a result, there ensued upon Dandulo's conversion an urgent search for another Muslim convert who would adopt Puritan Christianity and join the Cromwellian party. That convert turned out to be an Ottoman administrator from Negropont by the name of "Isuf" (Yusuf, the Qur'anic name for Joseph) who was converted and then baptized on January 30, 1659. In the sermon that was preached at his baptism, it was noted that the instruction of the "Turkish Chaous" had been going on for two years by John Durie at the behest of Oliver Cromwell, "of blessed memory." That is why, when the convert was baptized, he was given the name "Richard Christophilus": his Christian name was evidently in honor of Cromwell's son, Richard.

The preparations for his official conversion were extensive. Secretary Thurloe, the chief intelligence-gatherer for the Commonwealth, demanded of John Durie some advice on how the conversion should be carried out. The conversion was to be a public-relations victory for the Commonwealth since it would help dim the glory of the Anglican convert: it was also to be a confirmation of the *status quo*. On December 16, 1658, Durie wrote back to Thurloe and recommended that the convert be permitted to adopt the name of Richard; that "some persons of honour, who can speake French" attest to his conversion and then "admit the chious" into the Lord Protector's presence; that the conversion be an event open to the local and international community since the convert was "not ashamed to renounce publicly the name of Mahomet; and that having beene a person of public qualitie heretofore in his own countrie, the thing may be known to his countriemen"; that the ceremony of conversion take place in a church in Covent Garden on a Sunday, ensuring thereby a large congregation; that

> Before the water be poured upon his head, or his head dipped in the water, (which may bee done in a great vessel) he should make a confession of his faith, and answer to such questions as shall be proposed unto him concerning the motives, which have induced him to joyne himself to Christ

and that the conversion ceremony be carried out as soon as possible since the convert was not only receiving threats but also "persuasions and promises" from a man "in the habit of a Jesuit."[96]

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Thurloe, he had managed to get an attestation to Isuf's sincerity of Christian faith from a Swedish dignitary who had known the convert during one of his stays in Istanbul. Durie and his circle no doubt viewed the conversion as a great victory for the Comenian ideals and for the Cromwellian cause over Anglicanism: that is why the sermon that was later preached on the occasion emphasized the fact that Isuf had been a man of importance, and concluded with a derogatory mention of "some others" who had converted before in London (Dandulo?). The Cromwellians were eager to prove the superior importance of their convert by showing how his conversion had been attested to by European nobility, how he himself was of the nobility, and how he had not converted in order to escape punishment for a crime committed against his former co-religionists. The "Copy of a Certificate concerning Richard Christophilus. Translated out of Latin" tells about the history of Isuf's desire to convert to Christianity and confirms his sincerity:

> Benedictus Skytte, Baron of Duderhoff, Lord of Gronsio, Morby, Skyttenholm, knight senator of the Kingdome of Sweden, Counseller of the supreame Chancerie & chanceller of the Universitie of Dorpt in Lifeland. I doe make knowne & testifie, that eight years agoe, when I was in the Metropolitan of the Ottaman Empire living there for the space of halfe a yeare, that all that time I did make use of the house of one of the chiefe Grandees of the Empire, who was named Murath Captain, Generall of the Euxine sea, who as I vnderstood there, was descended from the most Illustrious familie of the Dukes of Negropont, whose descend was from the Cornarie of Venice: & there I did see his only & lawfully begotten some [sic], the most Illustrious Lord Richard Christophilus, who then was named Isuph Chiaux. And seing he hath forsaken the sect of the Turks; & there with most large & rich fortunes, & hath embraced the Protestant Religion, & therein both in Doctrine & life hath made a wonderfull progresse; he is most worthy of the love, of honor, of the assistance, & of the helpe of all Protestants, who have any sense of godlinesse or of honor. In witnesse of all this, I have confirmed these presents with my hand and seale. Given in London 13th Decemb. 1659. Benedictus Skytte[97]

Soon after Isuf's conversion, a publication appeared in which Durie wrote "To the Christian Reader" how he had found in this conversion a sign of "Gods dealing" with England.[98] The convert, it was prominently noted, had not found Catholicism, Anglicanism or Quakerism acceptable: instead, and while he was in Paris, he had come across two Arabs who had converted to Protestantism from whom he learned about English Christianity – presumably "Puritan" Christianity. He subsequently traveled to London

[97] *HP.* 21/12/1A–2B. It is noteworthy that in 1659, Skytte, who was deeply influenced by Comenius, introduced in London a model for a *Universum Collegium* that would serve as a house for scholars and their families. Did he hope to include Christophilus in that collegium?

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and was given lodging, taught some English and then baptized. As Durie grew to know the Turk, he admired him as a model of Christian conviction.

In the account that follows Durie's preface, Thomas White, a preacher at St. Andrew's Church in Holborn, condemned Islam but praised the Muslim's religious potential. Isuf had "little Notional knowledge" of Christianity, but he possessed a capacity for faith superior to that of Christians with vain "speculative knowledge."[99] White again confirmed the fact that the Turk was a man who had been of high social status, "a man of no ordinary breeding and education" who was willing to leave both his "estate and his Countrey" for Christ.[100] He was a "Noble Convert," the new man of the messianic age. Like Durie, Hartlib and Comenius, White also awaited the millennium, and the convert represented for him the vitality that heralded the new age of the kingdom: indeed, the millennium was imminent because the conversion of the Muslims was already under way. What was specifically significant to White about the Muslim convert was that the latter had grown up in ignorance of the New Testament and had received the word of God all afresh. He was thus like

> Adam when he was created and brought into Paradise, he being of such wonderful acuteness of sense and understanding, Seeing the glorious Sun, and the rich spacious heavens, and the earth in all her bravery, hearing the melody of the birds, and never seeing any such thing before, and being able to discern the wisdom of God in their frame and creation, as well as the goodness of God in their use.[101]

For White, Richard Christophilus was the prelapsarian Adam, full of light and wisdom and stepping into the eschatological kingdom of the saints. That is why he ended his treatise by pointing to the millenarian kingdom that was being heralded by the conversion of the Muslims. He expressed his hope that the convert would become a messenger of Christ to his own people, and he added that the conversion of the Turks anticipated the conversions of the Jews and of the Gentiles, all of which led to the "Harvest" of the millennial kingdom. We hope, concluded White,

> that God was preparing by such meanes a way to bring in the Conversion of the Jewes, and the Fulnesse of the Gentiles, amongst which the Turks should be comprehended, of whom this man, and some others, being the first fruits, we might expect hereafter a full Harvest.[102]

The conversion of Isuf attracted the attention of John Worthington who questioned his friend Hartlib about it. On February 22, 1659, Hartlib apologized for the fact that he had not yet been informed fully of the details:

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 11. [100] *Ibid.*, "To the Reader." [101] *Ibid.*, b2 v. [102] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

> The story of R. Christophilus is not reprinted wth additions that I know. But Mr. Dury can give me an account of it, as likewise whether R. Christophilus be versed in the Alcoran, Suna, and such like books.[103]

After his conversion, Richard Christophilus started receiving financial assistance from the Interregnum authorities. On May 12, 1659, "Isuf the Turkish Chious" received £2, and on October 5, 1659 there is a record of "Forty shillings a week to be paid to Rich. Christophilus the Turkish Chiaux till further order, with arrears from 7 May last."[104] On August 7, 1660, a few months after the restoration of Charles II, the Privy Seal made payment "to Lord Rich. Christophilus, converted from Turkism to Christianity, of 50 L. at once and 40 s. per week."[105] The restored monarchy was as happy about this convert as the Cromwellian regime had been. But under the Anglican king, the millenarian impact of the conversion was lost and so, too, were any references to Christophilus in English sources.

While both converts – Dandulo and Isuf – demonstrated the eschatological legitimacy of the two religious parties that had sponsored them, the emphasis by Warmstry and White on reason as the chief instrument of conversion shows the importance of the Comenian legacy in the history of England's discourse with Islam. In one of his letters to Lady Ranelagh, John Beale, a member of the Hartlib circle, wrote:

> I haue oftentimes apprehended that there is a spirituall sparkle, that is already received in the bosomes of the Iewes, Mahumetans, Papists, Presbyters &c all sorts of Zelous christians, (which when God's spirit shall please to blow vigorously upon it) will like lightning enlighten of a sudden the whole world with the glory of God.[106]

Reason was pivotal in the exchange between English evangelists and Muslims in the seventeenth century, for reason was the only avenue for any kind of harmonious discourse between the two religious groups; otherwise, the English position toward Muslims was that of invective. When Britons tried to convert the Jews, they directed them to the Old Testament prophecies which both they and the Jews accepted. The Jews were told to see in the New Testament the fulfillment of the messianic promises; if they failed, they were castigated as "blind." British evangelists did not believe that they shared any historical common ground with the Muslims nor did they share a mutually acceptable scripture: while Jesus had preached his message among the Jews of the Scriptures, with whom the English reader was deeply familiar, Mohammad had preached among Arab tribesmen who were totally alien to English theology. As a result, the chief access to

[103] Worthington, *The Diary*, vol. 1, p. 182. [104] *C.S.P. Domestic, 1658–1659*, p. 21; *ibid., 1659–60*, p. 242.
[105] *C.S.P. Domestic, Charles II, 1660–1661*, vol. 1, p. 181. [106] *HP*, 27/16/1A.

the Muslims was through reason (a "reason," however, that insisted on discovering the Augustinian doctrine of Original Sin in the Qur'an). And should the Muslims refuse to recognize the superior intellectual content of Christianity, they were castigated as "irrational."

In the encounter with the Jews, Britons promoted faith in the New Testament revelation; with the Muslims, they attempted to demonstrate the reasonableness of that revelation by careful instruction – something that Christian converts to Islam, in the eyes of Christian writers, did not seem to need. Indeed, it was frequently observed how Muslims demanded very little of a Christian who wished to "turn Turke" – only to state the "Witness." For Christian observers, the stating of the Witness, often in an inaccurate transliteration, showed that the convert did not apply his or her understanding to Islam because there was no doctrinal depth to understand in Islam anyway. Conversion to Islam was facile because Islam itself was facile. Robert Withers in 1620 described Christian virgins who "after their comming into the Serraglio are made Turkes, which is done by using this ceremonie onely, to hold up their fore-finger" and witness that there is no deity but God and Mohammad is His Prophet.[107] This facility in conversion seemed to support the Christian view that Islam was a religion without intellectual foundations. Three quarters of a century later, Joseph Pitts noted that when a Christian expressed interest in conversion, he was immediately accepted, "without demanding of him any Reason for his so doing."[108]

In contrast, writers in England insisted that Christianity demanded serious intellectual and spiritual preparation from Muslims. Durie mentioned in his "Preface" that Isuf had undergone a lengthy period of study before his baptism; Peter Gunning also emphasized the need for education, declaring that "our Religion and Discipline permits not that hastiness in this weighty matter" (of conversion); Hanmer too had made the same point. The underlying assumption was that the Muslims shared with Christians and with all mankind the "principles of Reason and Religion."[109] The Muslims believed in God, but they had the wrong

[107] *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. IX, pp. 338–339. Withers included a garbled transliteration: "Law illaw-heh il Allawh Muhamedresull Allahw."

[108] Pitts, *Account*, p. 141.

[109] Warmstry; *The Baptized Turk*, p. 4v. See also the rest of the "Postscript" which summarized "the last Conference betwixt Mr. Gunning and Signior Dandulo." In Hanmer's account, interpreters translated the convert's confession of faith to the congregation; in White's account, the preface "To the Reader" included the theological questions which Christophilus had answered. This emphasis on education was not exclusive to Protestant theologians: Muslim conversion to Christianity in Catholic Spain and Italy was also preceded by detailed religious indoctrination. See *Don Juan of Persia* for a reference to "three Persians . . . studying to become Christian converts," p. 287; see also Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, Part I, chapter 37, where Zoraida could only be baptized after "she had first learned all the ceremonies that our Holy Mother Church enjoins," p. 336.

knowledge about him. They needed to be educated rationally for they had "a great Sense of God among them," wrote an anonymous "Gentleman" in 1687, but they had a "weak natural Light."[110] That was why they required patient indoctrination.

This emphasis on rationality may have hindered the understanding of Islam by Christians. For it is clear that Christian theologians completely misunderstood the nature of conversion in Islam: Islamic doctrine teaches that all humanity, descended of Adam and Eve, were born Muslim – in submission to God. Those who strayed from that submission needed only to be reminded of the "straight path" and they would promptly reassume their harmony with God. Conversion was simply a remembrance of God in whom the individual and all humanity have always been held in covenanted submission. Christian doctrine, on the other hand, proclaims that sin so completely and devastatingly changed the nature of man that man, after the fall, lost his perfect humanity and the likeness of God. A return to God, in the Protestant and Catholic traditions, necessitates a return to humanness, which can be effected only through a conscious recognition of individual sin and acceptance of Christ's redemption – effected for the Christian in Holy Communion/Eucharist. Whereas Muslim conversion is a recollection of God, who has been forgotten because of man's weakness, Christian conversion entails a resumption of the individual's humanness which has been degraded as a result of proud separation from God. By approaching conversion as a "rational" action, Protestant writers approached Muslims through a Christian perception that totally misrepresented Islam. The writers also ignored the deeper and more emotional side of the experience of God – that "O altitudo" which subsumes mankind's knowledge of the divine.

Throughout the period under study, there was deep interest in England in converting Muslims to Christianity, but there was not much success. By the end of the seventeenth century, however, that interest declined after Muslims began to visit London on frequent bases: as John Windus noted in 1725, "we have been pretty well accustomed to see its [Morocco] Natives in our Streets."[111] The growing familiarity with Muslims may have helped to take the edge off conversionist ardor. Furthermore, Georgian Christianity was more eager to enlist Muslim assistance against the rising tide of atheism and deism at home than to undermine Islam: numerous writings in the eighteenth century show how Christians turned to the Islamic tradition for support against arguments of naturalism and Humean

[110] *A Seasonable Prospect*, A2 r. [111] Windus, *A Journey to Mequinez*, preface.

skepticism.[112] *No wonder that whenever mention was made of a Muslim convert to Christianity, the convert seemed more fictional than real: the Muslim "convert" was a Christian "pose" serving the purpose of denouncing not the renounced religion of Islam but the sectarian divisions and disagreements of Christianity. Having lost the eschatological impetus for evangelization, and having subordinated conversion to commercial and trading advantages, Britain ignored its New Testament "mission" to the Muslims of the Levant. Only in the second half of the nineteenth century would the Anglican and the Presbyterian Churches of England and Scotland develop an ideology along with financial and ecclesiastical institutions to convert the Muslims (and the Jews) of the Middle East to Christianity. By then, converting the Muslims and the Jews to Christianity had become part of Britain's imperial strategy.*

[112] See el-Mowafy, "Arabia in English Literature," pp. 132 ff; see also the discussions in Pailin, *Attitudes to Other Religions*, and Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken*.

CHAPTER FIVE

Eschatology and the Saracens

"The children of Isaac shall at last overcome them [the Arabs]," Nathaniel Homes, The Revelation Revealed (1654).

From the early sixteenth century through the Counter-Reformation and until the end of the Thirty Years War, Protestant writers confronted the military and political power of Catholicism. Simultaneously, there also loomed before them the Ottoman danger as the armies and navies of Islam pushed through Central Europe and attacked Mediterranean outposts such as Malta, Cyprus and Rhodes. In this context of dual confrontation, English and Scottish writers turned to eschatology – a genre of religious discourse which examined contemporary and future events in the light of Christ's Second Coming as propounded chiefly in the books of Daniel and Revelation.

Eschatology had been used in anti-Islamic polemic since the Middle Ages, but during the Reformation, it became widely prominent among both theologians and preachers. With its emphasis on the imminent return of Jesus, eschatology enabled communities within the Reformation movement to affirm their unique role in the fulfillment of God's design in history – when God would raise His elect to glory and destroy their enemies.[1] Particularly in the exegesis of Martin Luther, the figure of the Turk became associated with the Papal enemy of God – both of whom were identified with the "Little horn" in the Book of Daniel and the "Beast" in Revelation. For Luther, the eschatological kingdom of Christ was to prevail after the destruction of the Catholic and the "Mahometan" adversaries. "May our

[1] For general studies on eschatology and the image of the Muslim, see Le Roy Edwin Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of our Fathers*, 4 vols. (Washington: Review and Herald, 1946–1954), vol. II in particular; Bryan W. Ball, *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975); Katharine R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530–1645* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*, ed. Peter Toon (Cambridge and London: James Clarke and Co., 1970); Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), pp. 74 ff. For a 19th-century compendium of eschatological views on Islam, see E. B. Elliott, *Horae Apocalypticae*, 4 vols. (1862), vol. IV, pp. 381 ff.

dear Lord Jesus Christ, help and come down from heaven with the Last Judgment, and smite both Turk and pope to the earth," he wrote in 1529.[2] Taking their lead from Luther, as well as from Calvin and Melanchthon, English and Scottish writers such as John Foxe, Thomas Brightman, Hugh Broughton, Thomas Draxe, Joseph Mede and John Napier assured their readers that God would manifest Himself in the "English Zion" immediately after dispatching Protestantism's dreaded enemies, the Catholic and the "Mahommedan." Indeed, there is scarcely a mention of the Turks and Islam in early modern English eschatology without an immediate mention of the Pope and Catholicism. Both religions were seen to share similar falsehoods – "Both in their deceyte encrease much," wrote Hugh Broughton in 1588[3] – and both were seen to desire the elimination of pure and uncorrupted Christianity in the form of Protestantism. In the eschatology of post-Reformation England, an irreconcilable polarity was established between Protestant Christians and Muslims (and Catholics), so much so that in the nature of God's scheme there could be nothing but warfare between them.

As Protestants in England, Scotland and on the continent watched Ottoman military advances, they started to treat eschatology as the final weapon in their hands: since they and the rest of Christendom had generally failed in battle against the Muslims, only the Christian God could prevail. As a result, deprecatory references to the Turks and to their religious predecessors, the Arabs and Saracens, entered the social and political discourse and became a uniform feature in eschatology and polemic: alongside the Papal antichrist and the wars of Gog and Magog appeared the "Beast" of "Mahomet" and the "Scorpions" of the "Saracenical Night." It was in this post-Reformation period in English history that the Christian hostility toward the Muslims was transformed from dogma to race: if the medieval mind, according to Leo Spitzer, "knew hatred only on dogmatic, not on racial, ground,"[4] then the early modern period witnessed the transformation of that hatred into racial stereotypes. As some Christian theologians justified in the Americas the enslavement of the native inhabitants, and in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain justified the racially motivated expulsion of the Moriscos, so too did those theologians justify the demonization of the Muslims – both the Turks and the Arab

[2] Martin Luther, "On War Against the Turk," in *The Works*, vol. v, p. 123. See also Bohnstedt, *The Infidel Scourge of God*, p. 15; and George W. Forell, "Luther and the War Against the Turks," *Church History*, 14 (1945): 256–271; "Eschatologische Betrachtung zur Konfrontation mit den Osmanen," in Carl Göllner, *Turcia*, 3 vols. (Bucharest, Romania, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 173–226.

[3] H. Broughton, *A Concent of Scripture* (1588), G1 v.

[4] Leo Spitzer, "Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony," *Traditio*, 2 (1944), p. 455.

"Saracens" who had given rise to Islam. The eschatological writings of the early modern period record the first anti-Muslim and anti-Arab racism in English thought. What is of particular significance is that these writings were not confined to university-bound theologians or to obscure exegetes: rather they were widely popular in print and pulpit and reached a vast cross-section of the population of Britain.

MUSLIMS IN BRITISH ESCHATOLOGY

In the period under study, sermons, treatises and biblical commentaries with specific eschatological and millenarian emphases differentiated between the meaning and implication of the terms "Arabs" and "Saracens." Generally (although there were exceptions), "Arab" or "Arabian" related to the medieval heritage of Islamic civilization, a heritage that was seen to be wealthy and exotic, as writers such as Marlowe, Fletcher, Shakespeare, Milton and others showed in their work; "Saracen," however, specifically seemed to recall the founders and disseminators of Islam. Historically, there was no division between the two groups, as Bedwell in *The Arabian Trudgman* assured his readers, but numerous English writers did not hesitate to distinguish between them: the Arabian of the medieval period was intellectually admired, while the Saracen was theologically damned and associated with the "barbarous." Specifically in the field of religious polemic, the term "Saracen" was used with reference to its alleged linguistic derivation: theologians who had turned philologists traced "Saracen" to Sarah, the wife of Abraham.[5] John Foxe, however, believed that the name "Saracen" originated in the "Ishmaelites, being a people of Arabia, [who] were called then Hagarenes; which term Mahomet afterwards turned to the name of Saracens."[6] Other writers sought a racial explanation of the term: echoing Joseph Scaliger and William Bedwell, Thomas Brightman and the orientalist Edward Brerewood rejected the Sarah–Saracen option and stated that the "perverted name" of the Saracens was derived from the Arabic verb "Sarak" or "Saracke," to steal: since the Saracens lived by rapine, their name seemed justly to describe them.[7]

[5] Thomas Newton, *A Notable Historie of the Saracens*, 2v; Lithgow, *A Most Delectable . . . Discourse*, K v.

[6] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. IV, p. 21.

[7] William Bedwell, *Mohammedis Imposturae: That is A Discovery of the Manifold Forgeries . . . of the blasphemous seducer Mohammed . . . Whereunto is annexed the ARABIAN TRVDGMAN, interpreting certaine Arabicke termes used by Historians* (1615). N3 r; Thomas Brightman, *The Workes of that Famous, Reverend, and Learned Divine, Mr. Tho: Brightman: Viz. A Revelation of the Apocalyps* (1644), p. 310; *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), p. 193; Edward Brerewood, *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Language, and Religions through the cheife parts of the world* (1614), pp. 100–101.

This hostility toward the Saracens and their Prophet was nurtured by an account which served to degrade the historical beginnings of Islam. It was a story introduced by Luther from medieval anti-Islamic polemic, popularized by Foxe and repeated in nearly every account about the Saracens: the Saracens became a unified fighting force only after they had been denied their wages in war. They were a people whose origin lay in greed and lucre. They had won with Heraclius over the Persians, (another exegete, David Pareus,[8] stated that they had won over Heraclius with the Persians), but then the booty was distributed among the Greek and Roman armies, and they were told that there was "no money remaining to cast to this rout of dogs (for so they termed the Saracenes)." As a result, the Saracens turned to "Mahomet" who had been made in 623 "captaine and prophet of the Saracenes, and Arabians," and under his leadership, they began their wars.[9] For English controversialists, the Saracens sought pillage, and Mohammad disguised that intention by declaring a new religion.

This negative image of the Saracens was confirmed by imposing on them the number 4 which appeared in the Book of Revelation in connection with the "four horsemen" of doom. This number situated the Muslims squarely within the scheme of destruction in Christian eschatology. John Napier, who employed mathematics in order to understand this eschatology, compared this fourfold link to the four chief Muslim nations (Turks, Tartars, Saracens and Arabians) and the four "imperiall" families ("Assimbeis, Candelors, Caramannes and Ottomannes") in Islamic history.[10] Recalling the four monarchies in the dream of Daniel and the four horsemen of the Apocalypse, an anonymous writer in Purchas's *Pilgrimes* linked them with the "foure Doctors, Authours of the foure Sects [of Jurisprudence] of that irreligious Religion." These were also Mohammad's "foure sharpe Swords of God" who were commanded to "goe into the foure parts of the world, to kill such as resisted." Because of them, there have been "foure principall Deluges, each from Euphrates, overwhelming the world," the first of which was the "Saracenicall Age" which precipitated the Turkish, Tartar and Mogul ages.[11] It was from the Saracens, declared the author, that all the forces which devastated Christendom had proceeded.

[8] David Pareus, *A Commentary upon the Divine Revelation of the Apostle and Evangelist Iohn*, trans. Elias Arnold, (Amsterdam, 1644), p. 125.

[9] George Gifford, *Sermons upon the whole booke of Revelation* (1596), p. 175, see also Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. IV, p. 22; *A Notable Historie*, 5v; Grotius, *True Religion Explained*, p. 321; James Durham, *A Commentarie upon the book of the Revelation* (Edinburgh, 1658), p. 453.

[10] John Napier, *A Plaine Discovery of the whole Revelation of Saint Iohn* (Edinburgh, 1593), p. 5.

[11] *Advance of the Papal Monarchy* in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. VIII, pp. 14–15.

Using their little knowledge of Islamic history and relying on translations from medieval polemic as well as Latin texts produced by Christian authors with little access to Arabic sources, writers established an inaccurate and uninformed image of Islam and its Prophet that would last for centuries and that would extend from England to New England. Because English writers relied on a select but limited number of treatises on Islam and the Turks, all of them who were non-travelers and without a first-hand experience of Islam inevitably repeated – and therefore confirmed – to their readers the same anti-Islamic fallacies and prejudices. These writers were less concerned about accuracy than about defeating the Muslims not only militarily but culturally. The low origin of the Prophet of Islam, for instance, led them to advance an equally low origin of the Saracens: for the Saracens were associated with illegitimacy, since, in the Bible, they were described as the offspring of Hagar, the "bond-woman." This "bastard" origin of the Saracens led English writers, in turn, to eliminate the Arab-Islamic legacy from world civilization altogether. The Arabia of the Saracens, wrote Brerewood, "was indeed the nest, that bred and fostered that vncleane bird [Islam], and had it bene the cage also, for euer to enclose it."[12] Nothing good could come of a people who had proved so disastrous to the spread of God's religion of Christianity. The achievement of the Arabs in art and science was dismissed, and instead, the Saracens were portrayed by eschatologists and travelers alike as an uncivilized and "fierce people" who abolished "al the studies of good letters and liberall Sciences and (whiche is most of all) utterly defacing and inhibiting the true worshiping of God and Christian religion."[13] The fact that the Arab-Islamic civilization had preserved and nurtured the "liberall Sciences" during Europe's dark ages was ignored.

In order to remove the Arabs/Saracens from the history of Mediterranean and European civilization, Christian writers often opened their accounts of the history of Islam with a brief biography of Mohammad (sometimes providing him with a Jewish mother in order to degrade him further) and then, ignoring over half a millennium of the Arab-Islamic legacy, moved to the Ottoman Empire and its depredations. Foxe's "History of the Turks," which was included in his *Acts and Monuments*, proved seminal in this process of de-historicization: after describing the "beastly" and "wicked" Saracens for a few pages, Foxe turned to "Ottoman, The First Great Emperor, or Tyrant, of the Turks. A.D. 1300," deleting thereby over

[12] Brerewood, *Enquiries*, p. 82; see also Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. IV, p. 21.

[13] *A Notable Historie*, 1v. See also Brerewood, *Enquiries*, for a similar view, p. 85; and *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), p. 230.

700 years of "Saracen" and Arab history. In 1601, R. Carr, who researched French and Italian sources about Islam to prepare *The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie*, opened with the life of the Prophet, described the wars of the Saracens and their encounter with the Christians, and then turned to the Turks.[14] In 1607, the preface of *The Turkes Secretorie, Conteining His Sundrie Letters* opened with an attack on the Saracens as founders of Islam, and then it moved to the rise of the Turkish empire; in 1633, Henry Marsh began *A New Survey of the Turkish Empire* with a description of Mohammad and moved in the chapter immediately following to the history of the Ottomans.[15] None of these writers mentioned the "Infidel" contributions to Christian civilization: for them, the Saracens had existed only to wreak havoc on Christendom, while the Muslim Turks were seen exclusively from the perspective of their ongoing anti-Christian warfare.

Protestant reformers and their English followers legitimized the denigration of the Saracens and their total omission from the history of "western" civilization by associating them with the "beast" imagery of Biblical apocalyptic texts. In 1524, Richard Grafton translated from French (which had itself been translated from Latin) *The order of the greate Turckes courte* in which he compared Mohammad with "other adders" and designated him specifically as a "poysoned serpente" and a "cruell woolfe."[16] Foxe compared Mohammad with the beast of Revelation,[17] and Thomas Brightman referred to all the Saracens as possessing "the fiercenesse of a beast,"[18] while William Biddulph associated the "little horne" in Daniel with the beginnings of the "Turkish Empire."[19] Brightman also associated the Saracens with locusts flying out of smoke (Revelation 9:10): the Saracens, he wrote, were "the first troope of locusts . . . about the yeare 630," and were followed by "the Turkes, a brood of vipers, worse then their Parent, [who] did utterly destroy

[14] Carr, *The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie*: between pages 7v and 9r, he jumped from the year 500 to 1080. Indeed, the "Saracens" were mentioned only in order to allow Carr to describe the Turks. See the title to the first unit: "The Originall and beginning of the Turkes, and of the foure Empires which are issued and proceeded out of the superstitious sect of Mahumet."

[15] *The Turkes Secretorie. Conteining his Sundrie Letters Sent to diuers Emperours, Kings, Princes, and States, full of proud bragges, and bloody threatnings* (1607); Henry Marsh, *A New Survey*. See also Boemus, *The Manners*, who moves within one paragraph from the Saracens to the Turks, p. 138. J. Boemus, *The Manners and Customes of all Nations* (1611 ed.).

[16] Richard Grafton, trans., *The order of the greate Turckes courte* (1524), pp. 1, 3. The frontispiece includes engravings of the monstrous sphinx, and of a virgin (a Christian?) committing suicide in front of turbaned Turks.

[17] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. IV, p. 22. Foxe also indicated that certain prophecies in "Daniel, Ezekiel and other places of the Old Testament" are applicable to the Turks, vol. IV, p. 20.

[18] Brightman, *A Most Comfortable Exposition of the Last and Most difficult part of the Prophecie of Daniel, from the 26. Verse of the 11 Chapter, to the end of the 12. Chapter* (1644), p. 310.

[19] William Biddulph, *The Travels of certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythinia, Thracia, and to the Blacke Sea . . . Begunne in the yeere of Iubile 1600. and by some of them finished this yeere 1608. The others not yet returned* (1609), p. 49.

the Saracens their mother."[20] Joseph Mede, who knew the writings of Brightman, was more elaborate than his predecessor: he not only compared the Saracens with the Biblical locusts but, citing Pliny, compared their plaited long hair with the tentacles of the locusts. Physically they looked like locusts.[21] For him, as for other writers, it was evident that both the Biblical and the classical sources agreed on the animalization of the Saracens: both pagan and revealed history confirmed English exegesis.

Brightman and Mede contributed to the hostile and "bestial" view of the Muslims in seventeenth-century English thought, for their eschatological writings were widely quoted in the sermons and the polemics of the Civil Wars and the Interregnum. Indeed, the whole millenarian justification of the Wars and the regicide was based on their calculation of historical chronology. Their influence was far-reaching in the mid-century decades and continued after the Restoration, for in the 1660s, 70s and 80s, Henry More repeated Mede's descriptions of the Saracens: "these Scorpion Locusts, it being the nature of the Scorpion perpetually to attempt to sting and transfuse her poison, as of these Saracens to proselyte the world to their Religion." He contrasted the Saracens, who were "Scorpio-Locusts," with the Turks, who were like monsters "made up of a Horse and a Man, a Centaure . . . and have tails."[22] Both Saracens and Turks were violent, monstrous, sub-human, even inhuman – for so had their Prophet been. The "Caveat" to the 1688 reprint of Ross's *Alcoran* retained the warning that the Greek translation of "Mahomet" meant "Apollyon, and Abaddon," while Homes in 1653 and Veryard in 1701 repeated the oft-made link between the Greek transliteration of Mohammad's name and the number of the beast, 666.[23] By bestializing the Prophet, it was possible to bestialize his followers and confirm the eschatological prophecies of Daniel and Revelation that Jesus would destroy those beasts at His Second Coming.

This animalization of the Muslims inevitably led to their exclusion from God's scheme of salvation. The Saracen founder of Islam was an "Apostate," wrote Napier, and apostates were executed.[24] Therefore, concluded Thomas Brightman, and before the Second Coming of Christ, all the enemies of Christianity would be defeated and

[20] Brightman, *A Revelation of the Reuelation that is The Revelation of Saint Iohn opened clearely with a logicall Resolution and Exposition* (Amsterdam, 1615), pp. 96, 134.

[21] Joseph Mede, *A Translation of Mede's Clavis Apocalyptica*, R. Bransby Cooper (1833), p. 181. The Latin original appeared as *Commentationum Apocalypticarum* in *The Works of the Pious and Profoundly-Learned Joseph Mede, B. D.* (1672). See specifically "De Tribus Vae-Tubis," pp. 466 ff.

[22] Henry More, *Apocalypsis Apocalypseos: or the Revelation of St. John the Divine unveiled* (1680), pp. 81, 83.

[23] *The Alcoran of Mahomet*, d3 v; Veryard, *An Account*, p. 315; Homes, *The Resurrection Revealed*, p. 86.

[24] Napier, *A Plaine Discouery*, p. 4; see also Lithgow's application of "runagate" to the Prophet, *A Most Delectable . . . Discourse*, I2 r.

vtterly overthrowne; that is to saie, The Romane empire... and the Saracens, whom he [Daniel] noteth and nameth, The King of the South vers. 40, and lastly, the Turkish empire stiled with the title of the King of the North.[25]

The Muslims (like the Catholics) were doomed to divine destruction. To confirm Biblical prophecy, writers declared that even Muslim sources concurred on the ultimate destruction of Islam. Both English and continental polemicists believed that the triumph of Christianity would occur at the fulfillment or unfulfillment of Mohammad's own alleged eschatological prophecy: for Mohammad himself, writers claimed, had prophesied that his religion would be defeated once the Christian eschaton approached. Indeed, they attributed to the Prophet an assertion that his religion, being false, would fall, and the Christian religion, being true, would prevail. As early as the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon claimed to quote Albumazar that Islam would not "last for more than 693 Years,"[26] and two centuries later, an English writer confirmed to King Henry V that "the infidels themselves are convinced, by a very ancient writing found amongst themselves, in which it is declared that, within the next five years, they will be wholly conquered by the Christians, or converted to the faith of the Christian religion."[27] From Muslim mouths, Christians received the assurance that Christendom would prevail over Islam. Writers repeated to their readers that Islam was a religion and an empire that would inevitably be destroyed by the Christian God.

But as the Ottoman Empire pushed forward its borders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and as its military and cultural might became more fearsome, English writers realized that perhaps God was not going to destroy the Muslims quickly. A change of eschatological strategy was deemed necessary, although writers continued to confirm that the defeat of Islam was definite, so much so that it had been prophesied by no less than the Prophet of Islam himself. In 1560, it was reported in *The poore mans Librarie* that Mohammad had prophesied that "Alcoran should perish and be destroyed after a thousand yeares were expired."[28] Biddulph stated that the Muslim Prophet had promised to return to earth "at the end of 1000 yeeres" and lead his followers to paradise.[29] But, declared Lithgow, who

[25] Thomas Brightman, *A Most Comfortable Exposition of ... Daniel from the 26 verse of the 11. chap. to the end of the 12 chapter* (1635), p. 5.

[26] *The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon*, 2 vols., trans. Robert Belle Burke (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), vol. II, p. 808.

[27] "A Letter to King Henry the Fifth Written from the Council of Constance," in *Letters of Queen Margaret*, ed. C. Munro (Camden Society, no. 86, 1863), p. 10. For the background of the apocalyptic prophecies about the Turks, see Setton, *Western Hostility to Islam*, chapter 2.

[28] *The poore mans Librarie. Rapsodiae G. A. Bishop of Exceter upon the first epistle of saint Peter* (1560), vol. II, p. 48v.

[29] Biddulph, *The Travels*, p. 61.

repeated the same point, since Mohammad should have returned twenty-three years before, and since he had not, then his deception should inevitably expose him to his followers.[30] In 1613, an anonymous writer reported that the King of Barbary told his followers that he would reign "forty yeeres, and then must com Christ ... and he must surrender all to him; for he must iudge the world, and then all must end."[31] In English writings, the rule of Islam was seen to be, according to the Muslims themselves, temporary and preparatory for the rule of Christ. In 1618, T. G. (Thomas Gainsford) confirmed that "Mahomet" had promised to "returne to consumate their [Muslims'] eternity after 1000 yeeres, which time is almost expired."[32] In September 1620, it was reported that a "strange Apparition" had appeared in the skies above the city of Medina in Arabia where the body of the Prophet lies interred. The apparition was transformed into an Arabic script which read: "O why will ye believe in lyes!" A Sufi interpreted the apparition in a long speech, the sum of which was that Islam was about to be replaced by Christianity.[33] So dire was the warning that the Muslims drove the Sufi out of the community.

For the above writers, Muslim eschatology secured the victory of Christ over Mohammad. But none of those writers was textually familiar with Islamic eschatology since the first summary of that eschatology was published by Pococke in the second half of the seventeenth century. And since none of them knew Arabic, they were unable to read sources in the original. After all, there is nothing in the Qur'an about a prophecy by Mohammad about his return: either writers were confused and imposed on the Qur'an the Shi'ite doctrine of the return of the Mahdi, or, and that is more likely, they viewed the Qur'anic prophecy about the return of Jesus (from the 'Isa minaret in the Umayyad mosque in Damascus – as travelers noted) as a confirmation of the defeat of Mohammad and the victory of Christianity. It was an inaccurate understanding of the Qur'an that produced the eschatological victory of Christendom.

This subsuming of Muslim eschatology into the Biblical scheme of history recalls the earlier placing of Islam in the dream of the Four Monarchies in the Book of Daniel and among the four horses of the Apocalypse. The

[30] Lithgow, *A Most Delectable ... Discourse*, I2 v.

[31] *Late Newes Out of Barbary* (1613), B3 r–v.

[32] T.G. (Thomas Gainsford), *The Glory of England*, pp. 203 r–v.

[33] Thomas White, *A True Relation*, "To the Reader." The episode was repeated by William Turner, *The History of all Religions in the World* (1695), p. 510. The account had first appeared in 1642 in a short pamphlet, *Strange and Miraculous NEWES from TVRKIE Sent to our English Ambassadour resident at Constantinople. Of a Woman which was seene in the Firmament with a Book in her hand at Medina Talubi where Mahomets Tombe is* (1642).

religion of Islam, along with the history of the Muslims, whether in the Levant or Central Asia or Central Europe, was totally subsumed by English (and Scottish) Protestant exegesis into the Christian world-view: it did not have autonomy but was an appendage in the Christian understanding of divine revelation. Thus, and as eschatology provided English writers with a method of explaining current inter-Christian rivalry and conflict, so was it seen to be useful in explaining away Muslim history; as Biblical eschatology promised the advent of Christ, so English theologians believed, the eschatology of "Alcoran" promised the return of Mohammad; as Biblical eschatology promised the destruction of the beast, so "Mahumetan" eschatology ensured, by a paradox that did not seem to the English writers to be inconsistent, the destruction of Mohammad; and while Christian eschatology was still unfolding, Muslim eschatology had reached its end, thereby proving its falsity and the falsity of Islam.

Such an eschatology turned Muslims into a people without legitimacy in this world and in the hereafter: they fitted neither in Christian theology nor in divine cosmography, neither in the Kingdom of God nor in the Levant or in North Africa. The Independent theologian Thomas Goodwin focused in his commentary on Revelation (c. 1639) on the unfolding of prophecy in the military and religious conflicts in the Eastern Levant. Goodwin was influenced by Brightman, Mede, Henry Finch and other millenarians, and he agreed with them that Revelation 9: 7–10 applied to the "innumerable company of Arabians, his [Mohammad's] countrymen – who are here called locusts for their multitudes." Goodwin applied many of the Revelation prophecies to the Saracen–Christian conflict (and in so doing differed from the commentator Patrick Forbes, who applied those verses in his *An Exqvisite Commentarie vpon the Revelation of Saint Iohn* (1613) to persecution of Protestants in the Catholic West). For Goodwin, the Saracens had weakened the Christians of the East – the Greeks and the Armenians; it was the "Saracen locusts, under their ringleader Mohammed" who had brought about the violence described in the verses. The suffering of Christians under the Ottoman Empire was exclusively a consequence of "that tyranny of Mohammedans in the east."[34]

Goodwin put the blame for the decline of Christianity in the East squarely on the shoulders of the Saracens, for it was they who started what the Turks continued: without the Saracens, Christianity would have continued to flourish in the East; because of them, Islam was established. And the few Christians who persevered in the East, Goodwin observed, were

[34] Thomas Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* in *The Works of Thomas Goodwin, D. D.*, 12 vols. (Edinburgh, 1861) vol. III, pp. 60, 61.

poor, forlorn eastern Christians, whose churches have remained corrupt and dark, and overwhelmed with superstition and ignorance under all these times, and so but a few among them holy, and have been under these Mohammedan tribulations a thousand years.[35]

This view that Islam had pushed Christianity out of the Eastern Mediterranean was confirmed by the few Greek Orthodox Christians who sought refuge in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and by the writings of Cyril, the Patriarch of Constantinople, which Goodwin had read.[36] But notwithstanding the sympathy that was shown for the "Eastern brethren" in England, prophecy remained the key to their eschatological destiny. Goodwin emphasized that of all the Eastern Christians, only 144,000 were to survive the divine judgment at the eschaton, as the Book of Revelation stated about each of the twelve tribes of Israel (7:4). With such a fate in store for the Eastern Christians, it is not surprising that in Goodwin's eschatology, the Saracens had no hope of salvation at all.

Other writers in England, however, had a different view of the Eastern Christians. They suggested that the Christians in the Levant were awaiting English assistance in order to rebel against the Muslims. English theologians applied on the Eastern Christians a perspective that was derived from their own political context: as Catholics, from the Elizabethan through the Restoration periods, were seen to owe their political allegiance to the spiritual head in Rome rather than to the monarch, so were Eastern Christians believed to prefer allegiance through Canterbury to the British monarch rather than to the High Porte. As Catholics in England and Ireland tried to rebel at various times and relied on support from the outside, so would the Eastern Christians rise in revolt against the "Turkish yoke" once assured of Protestant assistance from abroad. English readers of William Rubruck, whose account of the Mongols in the thirteenth century had been published by Purchas in *Pilgrimes*, would have learned about the Nestorian Christians who had joined Hulago against the Muslims in the years leading to the destruction of the Abbasid capital in 1258. Perhaps the Eastern Christians would now join their brethren of Canterbury to destroy both Islam and the Muslims. For numerous English writers, the Eastern Christians were potential rebels against the Muslim Empire: in them lay the seeds of Islam's destruction.

Sir Thomas Shirley was the first writer in England to advance the scheme of a possible uprising by the Eastern Christians: "these [Christians]

[35] *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 61–62. [36] *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 63.

desire noethinge but armes & capiteynes, & they woulde ryse agaynest the Turkes for theyre libertye, & woulde furnishe men, money, & horses sufficiente."[37] William Lithgow similarly believed that the Eastern Christians, if given arms by European princes, would "easily subuert and abolish the Turkes, without any disturbance."[38] Francis Bacon hoped for a holy war against the Turks that would result in "mutiny and insurrection" in the provinces ruled by the Ottomans.[39] This rebelliousness of Eastern Christians stemmed from what English writers hoped was the Eastern desire not only to destroy the Muslim conqueror but to ensure their own separation from the Papacy and union with the Church in England. At a time when the English Church was confronting Catholicism at home, numerous English theologians including Richard Hooker, Lancelot Andrewes and Archbishop Laud believed that the model of the primitive church with its simplicity of doctrine made possible union with churches opposed to Rome. The Arabist William Bedwell supported this prospect by providing a description of Eastern Christianity which perfectly fitted such a goal: the writings of those Christians, he asserted, included nothing about purgatory or the "impious" sacrifice of the mass or the primacy of Peter and his successors – all of which made the Eastern Christians alien to the Catholic creed. With a few exceptions, Bedwell continued, "nearly all that I have seen, read, studied, about religion is healthy and sincere, and clearly tallies with and applauds the Anglican, in other words the catholic, church."[40] It is also quite probable that the support which the Eastern Church gave to the doctrine of consubstantiation (and not to Catholic transubstantiation) made them appear, in English eyes, as perfect allies of Protestants.

Bedwell compared "the religion of the Arabic-speaking Christians to Anglicanism."[41] Following suit, Ephraim Pagitt stated that there were numerous points of "Agreement" between the Eastern Christians and Protestants, particularly in denying "the Popes Supremacie."[42] After his journey in the Levant, Isaac Basire announced that the Patriarch in Jerusalem was eager for inter-communion with the Church of England, and in Antioch, Basire left "our catechism translated into Arabick" for the

[37] Shirley, *Discours*, p. 9. This possibility of Greek rebellion was one of Shirley's chief hopes.
[38] Lithgow, *A Most Delectable ... Discourse*, K4 v. [39] Bacon, *Works*, vol. XIII, p. 158.
[40] Quoted in Hamilton, *William Bedwell*, p. 79. See chapter 7 in Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), where there is a survey of the Orthodox-Anglican exchange in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
[41] Hamilton, *William Bedwell*, p. 80. See A. Hamilton, "The English Interest in the Arabic-Speaking Christians," in Russell, ed., *The "Arabick" Interest*, pp. 30–53.
[42] Ephraim Pagitt, *Christianography* (1674, first publ. 1630), p. 57.

Patriarch to read.[43] "They concure," wrote James Howell about the Eastern Christians, "with the Western Reformed Churches in divers posi-tions against Rome."[44] The more English doctrinal writers learned about the Eastern churches, the more they became hopeful that there would be an opportunity for an approximation of liturgies,[45] and for an alliance against both the Muslim and the Catholic – an alliance confirmed to them by the Greeks themselves. In 1617, Christopher Angell, a Greek who had been captive among the Turks, added to his description of captivity by the Muslims "An Epistle in commendations of England and the Inhabitants thereof." He praised "this delicious and blisfull English Ile" and assured Englishmen that they and the "Grecians ... were mingled in bloud": and since both peoples came of the same stock (Constantine and Helen, accord-ing to Angell, were "Brytanes"), then the intellectual and religious destiny of Greece was linked to that of England.[46]

Meanwhile, travelers to the Levant were hopeful that the proximity between Eastern and Anglican doctrines would speed the return of Christianity to the lands which had been conquered by Islam. Should Eastern Christians resume their rightful position in those lands now ruled by the Turks, Christianity would prevail – a Christianity that would be Protestant or Anglican in the purity of its doctrine. When Henry Maundrell, chaplain to the Levant Company's factory in Aleppo, went on an Easter pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1697, he observed that churches were often destroyed by the infidels, but altars were preserved, perhaps because "some occult Providence has preserv'd them, as so many standing monuments of christianity in these unbelieving regions, and presages of its future restauration."[47] Later, however, after he had observed the acrimony among

[43] *The Correspondence of Isaac Basire, D. D.*, ed. W. N. Darnell (London: John Murray, 1831), pp. 116–117. Durham Chapter Library, MSS Hunter 142, contains samples of Basire's writing in Arabic, and copies of letters of introduction praising Basire as "*rajul qassees kamel fadil min jama'at al-anklaz*" ("a vir-tuous and noble man, a minister, from the English people"). There is in this manuscript a "Compendium grammaticum Lingua Arabicae" and some quotations from the poetry of al-Ma'arri and Ibn 'Arabi. See also Colin Brennen, "The Life and Times of Isaac Basire" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Durham, 1987), p. 82. Brennen observes of the Patriarch's apparent open-ness "it is difficult to know whether this was a genuine statement of belief, or simply a move to win Basire's support against the Latins"; see also pp. 87–88, for the agreement between Greek and Anglican doctrine.
[44] James Howell, *A New Volume of Familiar Letters*, p. 12.
[45] G. J. Cuming, "Eastern Liturgies and Anglican Divines," in *The Orthodox Churches and the West*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1976), pp. 231–239. Purchas, however, noted similarities between Eastern Christians and Catholics, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1617), p. 362.
[46] Christopher Angell, *a Grecian, who tasted of many stripes and torments inflicted by the Turkes for the faith which he had in Christ Jesus* (Oxford, 1617), B1 v, B2 v.
[47] Henry Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem in 1697*, intro. David Howell (Beirut: Khayats,

Christian denominations over the possession of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, he reflected somberly:

> Who can expect ever to see these holy places rescued from the hands of the infidels? Or if they should be recovered, what deplorable contests might be expected to follow about them! seeing even in their present state of captivity, they are made the occasion of such unchristian rage and animosity.[48]

Maundrell was shocked at the sight of inter-Christian bickering in Jerusalem. But he was encouraged about Anglican headway in Palestine when he discovered that the Samaritan high priest of Nablus had "the first vol. of the English [biblical] Polyglot, which he seem'd to esteem equally with his own manuscript."[49] English Christianity was penetrating the Muslim-dominated Levant.

Such fanciful ideas about an Anglican–Eastern doctrinal and military alliance were challenged by writers who either despised the Eastern Christians for their "superstitious" ritualism or who knew the difficult conditions under which they lived. While the Eastern Christians were preserving their faith against great odds, English religious writers were reflecting on their chief obsessions – the Church of Rome and Islam – and fabricating Christian alliances against the Catholic and the Turkish empires. Had the English theologians who advocated an Eastern rebellion been more alert to the social and religious conditions of Christians in the Ottoman Empire, they would have realized how impossible such a glorious prospect of war was at that time. Indeed, for some thinkers, the condition of Eastern Christians was so deplorable that they viewed it as evidence of God's judgment on those Christians who had given way to superstition and superficiality. In *The Historie of the Holy Warre* (1639), Thomas Fuller denounced the Eastern Christians as heretics fully deserving of Turkish tyranny, a view that was repeated throughout the seventeenth century:

> But the sinnes of the Eastern countreys, and chiefly their damnable heresies, hastened Gods judgements upon them . . . the active and nimble heads of the East were more desirous of novelties, more cunning to invent distinctions to cozen themselves with, more fluent in language to expresse their conceits, as alwayes errours grow the fastest in hot brains.[50]

[48] *Ibid*., p. 95 [49] *Ibid*., p. 83.

[50] Fuller, *The Historie*, p. 7; see also David Pareus who accused the Eastern Christians of witchcraft and "who tooth and naile maintained the worship of idols and images": *A Commentary*, p. 192 and Biddulph, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. VIII, p. 259, who praised "Master Barton" for trying to reform the Eastern Christians "from many of their superstitious customes." See also Blount, *A Voyage*, p. 109. In February 1700, Evelyn recorded in his *Diary* the "desolation of the Oriental Churches & Empire, so flourishing formerly with all prosperity, now in Ignorance & under Turkish Tyranny & desertion": vol. v, p. 378.

There could be no hope that such a people would cooperate in fighting the Muslims and in establishing the Protestant millennium.

JEWS, MUSLIMS AND PALESTINE

While some English religious writers were hostile to the Eastern Christians, others were uncompromising toward the Muslims. Indeed, whether God's eschatological design had already begun or was yet to begin, the status of the Saracens and the Turks did not change: Protestant theology did not, and indeed in the view of the majority of writers, could not, accommodate the "Infidels." English racism, which had developed during the Tudor and Stuart colonization of the Irish and of the American Indians, was now turned against the Muslims: it fostered in English theologians and their congregations a deep hatred for the skin color, the religion, and the history of the Muslims.

When, however, there was any appreciation among English and Scottish writers of the land of the Saracens, Arabia, that land was completely dissociated from the Saracens themselves. Geography excluded ethnology, and Arabia was appreciated for its historical role of housing, not the Arabs, but another people, the Israelites. Some polemicists in the early modern period castigated the Jews in an equal if not more violent manner than they did the Saracens: as they respected the (classical) Romans but vilified contemporary (Catholic) Italians, and as they respected the Arabians but vilified the Saracens, so did they vilify the Jews but showed respect to the Biblical Israelites and to the Biblical Arabia that had protected them:

> This Arabia was in times past through the great heat & barrenesse of the fields, little estemed of the auncients, but we ought otherwise to think thereof, for the memorie and reuerence of the dyuine things which there haue happened: for beningly shee receyued and kept the children of Israel: for the space of forty weeres.[51]

For the author, there was no link between past and present, between the Saracens' Arabia in the Renaissance and the Arabia of the Old Testament. Arabia "is famous for the passage of the Israelites through" it, wrote George Meriton over half a century later.[52] Nothing else mattered about Arabia except its association with the Israelites.

At this point, a contrast between the eschatological destiny of the Saracens and of the Jews is important. For it is quite striking that notwithstanding the Comenian latitude to Muslims (albeit conversionist in

[51] Nicholay, *The Navigations*, p. 121v. [52] Meriton, *A Geographical Description*, p. 196.

purpose), every writer in England who published a commentary on Daniel or Revelation condemned the Muslims – Arabs and Turks alike – to military destruction and spiritual damnation. Simultaneously, however, those same writers prayed for the conversion of the Jews. The reason for this wider latitude to the Jews than to the Muslims lay in Paul's promise in Romans 11:24, which Reformation exegetes had applied to the Jews, that the Jewish "branches" would finally be grafted to the Christian tree: "For if thou wert cut out of the olive tree which is wild by nature, and wert grafted contrary to nature into a good olive tree: how much more shall these, which be the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive tree?" The Jews, it was believed, would finally accept Jesus as Messiah since they were promised a place in the Christian scheme of the New Testament.

So intense was the desire to Christianize the Jews that a heresy surfaced in the Reformation period and after – that of the "Restoration" of the Jews to Palestine. This "Restorationist" heresy stated that the Jews would "restore" to the promised land in order to fight the Saracens and the Turks, convert to Christianity and then declare in Palestine the Protestant English kingdom of Christ. The Jews were instrumental in effecting the final destruction of the Muslim enemies of the English and other Protestant Churches. Such a role, however, was predicated on their future conversion to Protestant Christianity: this was one conversion (as distinguished from the conversion of the Muslims) that Englishmen were not going to lose to Catholics.

The idea of Jewish Restoration was highly controversial in the early modern period even though, from the times of Saints Jerome and Augustine, to Martin Luther, John Calvin and the Second Helvetic Confession, there had been consistent condemnation of Restorationism as a millenarian heresy.[53] Luther asserted that "there is no prophet, nor promise, which foretells its [Jerusalem's] restoration as happened in Babylon and Egypt";[54] and Calvin urged that the national privileges which had been specifically associated with the salvation of the Jews in the Old Testament had ended in the advent of Jesus the Messiah.[55] Following suit, the chief

[53] "It was only in the seventeenth century that belief in a future millennium became 'respectable.' In the sixteenth century, millenarianism was a heresy": Toon, *Puritans*, p. 19.

[54] Martin Luther, "Against the Sabbatarians: Letter to a Good Friend," (1538) in *Works*, ed. Helmut T. Lehman (Philadelphia, 1971), vol. xxxxvii, p. 84, see also p. 265 for his encouragement of the Jews to leave for Palestine in order to rid the Germans of their presence. For a study of Luther and the Jews, see Carl Cohen, "Martin Luther and His Jewish Contemporaries," *Jewish Social Studies*, 25 (1963): 195–204; Heiko Oberman, "Three Sixteenth-Century attitudes to Judaism: Reuchlin, Erasmus and Luther," in *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Bernard Dov Cooperman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), pp. 326–365.

[55] John Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. John Allen (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1844), IV, xx, 1, see also *Second Helvetic Confession* (1566) in *Reformed Confessions of the 16th Century*, ed. Arthur C. Cochrane (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1966), p. 245.

religious writers of England and Scotland in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries also condemned the heresy of Restoration: Alexander Peter, Richard Baxter, William Perkins, Hugh Broughton, Thomas Draxe, Archbishop Laud, John Donne, George Herbert, Robert Burton, Thomas Havne, Robert Baylie, John Weemse, Thomas Parker, Richard Byfield, Thomas Fuller, John Lightfoot, Hezekiah Holland, Joseph Hall and others. Some of these figures hoped for the conversion of the Jews, but all categorically opposed Restoration.[56]

Still, there remained numerous religious thinkers who supported Restoration. Why those English and Scottish eschatologists and millenarians should have done so has received in twentieth-century historiography a consistently ideological explanation: the emergence and diffusion of Restorationism in early modern England has been credited by contemporary critics to a nascent philo-Semitism in Puritan society.[57] This view has led writers to ignore completely the relationship of Restorationism to England's Renaissance (and subsequent) conflict with the Ottoman Empire: for as numerous English writers reveal, they adopted Jewish Restorationism not because of their philo-Semitism, but because they viewed it as the Christian equivalent of the Crusade. Since English soldiers had failed to "take possession" of the Holy Land and destroy the Saracens, that enterprise would be carried out by the Jews during their Restoration and before their conversion to Protestantism.

The link between Muslim danger and Protestant militarism-cum-millenarianism clearly shows how and why some English and Scottish thinkers became preoccupied with the Restoration of the Jews. After all, there were very few Jews in England or Scotland in this period, and the overwhelming interest in their Restoration that was shown by some writers is difficult to explain. Also difficult to explain is why Britons should have

[56] See my analysis of the Restorationist heresy and the anti-Restorationist arguments in "The Idea of the Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought: from the Reformation until 1660," *Durham University Journal*, 78 (1985): 23–36; "The Idea of the Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought: from 1661–1701," *Harvard Theological Review*, 78 (1985): 115–148; and "George Herbert, Henry Vaughan and the Conversion of the Jews," *Studies in English Literature*, 30 (1990): 79–92.

[57] See for instance, Nahum Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, 1919); Albert Hyamson, *British Projects for the Restoration of the Jews* (Leeds: Petty & Sons, 1917); G. F. Abbott, *Israel In Europe* (London: Macmillan, 1907); Barbara Tuchman, *Bible and Sword: England and Palestine from the Bronze Age to Balfour* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1956, 3rd edn. 1983); Regina Sharif, *Non-Jewish Zionism: Its Roots in Western History* (London: Zed Press, 1983). See also Hans-Joachim Schoeps, "Philosemitism in the Baroque Period," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 47 1956): 140–142; Lucien Wolf, *Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell* (London: Macmillan, 1901), p. xxii and p. xxi for mid-seventeenth-century "philo-Semitism" as an early manifestation of Zionism; Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964, 3rd edn.); Alan Edelstein, *An Unacknowledged Harmony: Philo-Semitism and the Survival of European Jewry* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982), pp. 141 ff., Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, chapter 5.

been concerned about the political fate of the Jews whom they repeatedly described as the executioners of their messianic God. Meanwhile, the Jews in the rest of Europe were actively trying not to "restore" to the land of Biblical promise but to retain their precarious homes in the countries which had accommodated them – both as Jews and as Marranos – after their expulsion from the Iberian peninsula. Indeed, the few Jews in England – those Marrano refugees who had settled in the second half of the sixteenth century – did not express nationalistic aspirations at all: it was not Jews but Britons (and other European and New England Protestants) who, through sermons and biblical exegeses, discussed the Jews, debated their Restoration or non-Restoration and planned their destiny. The Jews were never involved in the English discussion of their fate: early in the seventeenth century, the Venetian rabbi Leone da Modena made no mention of desiring to "restore" during his conversations with his English visitors: "the charge," notes Mark R. Cohen, "that diaspora Jews [in the seventeenth century] always had their eyes on Palestine was still a thing of the future."[58] Even after 1655, when Jews were (unofficially) allowed into England, they did not participate in the Restoration debate, nor, had they done so, would they have been willing to voice hopes for Restoration which could have resulted in their expulsion from England by Englishmen who did not want them to reside in the realm in the first place. Manassah ben Israel was more eager to have the Jews admitted to England than transported from Holland to Palestine: although in *Spes Israel* (1650) he expressed a Restorationist hope (a hope, however, that definitely excluded conversion to Christianity and fighting the Turks), his main purpose in the book was to appeal for Jewish settlement in England. Ben Israel was not successful in his appeal because, as one member of Cromwell's council explained, he had made the mistake of linking Jewish settlement in England to the millenarian heresy of Restoration.[59] Just about a century later, in 1753, the Bill for the Naturalization of the Jews was warmly supported by the Jewish community in England but was opposed by the majority of the English people who did not want Jews to continue to reside in England – and who therefore appealed to Restorationism in order to justify their desire to expel the Jews. In the

[58] Mark R. Cohen, "Leone da Modena's Riti: A Seventeenth-Century Plea for Social Toleration of Jews," *Jewish Social Studies*, 34 (1972), 314.

[59] Cecil Roth, *A Life of Menasseh Ben Israel* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934), pp. 243–244. See also the survey of Ben Israel in *Menasseh Ben Israel and his World*, eds. Yosef Kaplan, Henry Mechoulan, Richard H. Popkin (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989). See Ismar Schorsch, "From Messianism to Realpolitik: Menasseh Ben Israel and the Readmission of the Jews to England," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 45 (1978): 187–208.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Restorationism was the hallmark of an anti-Jewish position:[60] calling for the expulsion of the Jews (again) from England and for their conversion out of their religion to Christianity did not constitute philo-Semitic measures.

The Ottoman danger played a major role in frightening Englishmen into hoping for the Restoration of the Jews to what was intended to become, after the God-ordained Jewish victory and conversion, a Protestant Palestine. Having discovered in the prophecies of the Books of Daniel and Revelation references to the Muslims, English religious writers investigated the way God had always destroyed His enemy; and the conclusion was that the destruction of England's enemy would be a divine act. As, in the Old Testament, the Jews were the people who exhibited God's will and were His tool in destroying the Midianites and the Amalekites, so would they be the present agents of victory over the contemporary "Midianites and Amalekites" – as Thomas Goodwin described the Saracens with reference to Judges 7:12.[61] Alexander Ross drew an analogy between the Israelites "oppressed" by the Egyptians, and the Christian Church of the seventeenth century oppressed by "Mahomet." He hoped that, as the Jews overcame the Egyptians, so would the Christians overcome the "Mahometans."[62] Increase Mather wrote that the Turk was "the Assyrian of the world at this day" who persecuted the Jew and the Christian – until God brings His people to victory.[63] For numerous English and New England writers, the Jews were to be the fighters of the "Assyrian" Turks – those Turks whom Britons had failed to repel from their coasts and to expel from Jerusalem. It did not matter to Englishmen that there were no militarized Jews in the whole of Christendom, let alone Jews with the preparedness or the willingness to fight the Muslim enemies of their Christian enemies: what mattered was that the Jews could be made to fight the Muslims and win for England and Christ.

English and Scottish Restorationists such as Mede, Brightman, Goodwin and others discovered the destruction of the Muslims (Saracens and Turks) in the prophetic text of Revelation:

> The sixth phial will be poured out on the great river Euphrates; so that, being dried up, a passage may be prepared for the new enemies of the beast to come from the East, that is, for the Israelites.[64]

[60] See my "The Controversy over the Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought: 1701–1753," *Durham University Journal*, 80 (1988): 241–257.

[61] Goodwin, *An Exposition*, vol. III, p. 56.

[62] Alexander Ross, *Pansebeia: A View of all Religions in the World* (1675 edn.), p. 177.

[63] Increase Mather, *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation, Explained and Applyed* (1669), p. 33.

[64] Mede, *Clavis Apocalyptica*, pp. 427–428.

The solution to the Muslim danger lay with the Jews: for the "Kings of the East" were no other than the Jews, and the crossing of the Euphrates was no other than the Jews' march from Mesopotamia and the lands of the "north and east" to Jerusalem; on reaching the "holy Citty," the Jews would fight the Muslim and destroy him.[65] Then, having embraced Christianity (for if they did not, they "must necessarily . . . be destroyed," warned Mede and Mather), the Jews would ally themselves with the Protestant nations and await Jesus the Messiah who would reveal Himself in Jerusalem. The Jews would become "the new Christians," Mede concluded.[66]

In the Book of Revelation, Henry Finch, a theological disciple of Thomas Brightman, discovered how the Jews would resolve for Christendom the Muslim threat. Writing in 1621, Finch was the first Englishman to explore fully the calling and conversion of the Jews:

> . . .
> 12. They [the Jews] shall repaire towards their owne country. Esay 11. 15, 16 & 51. 10, 11; Jer. 3.18; Hosh 1.11.
> 13. In the way, Euphrates shall be laid dry for them to pass, as once the Red Sea was. Rev. 16.12. See Esay 11.15 & 51.10, 11.
> 14. The tidings of this shall shake and affright the Turkish power. Dan. 11. 14.
> 15. A marueilous conflict shall they have with Gog and Magog, that is to say, the Turke. Ezeck. 38 & 39. Reu. 20.8.
> . . .
> 18. A noble victorie they shall obtaine.[67]

Like his mentor Brightman who linked Jewish Restoration to Christ's Second Coming, Finch elaborated on the idea by treating the prospect of the Jews' Restoration in the light of contemporary threats to Protestant England. Fearful of Ottoman advances in Central Europe and of the sad outcome of the Protestant cause on the continent – a cause that King

[65] Brightman, *The Revelation of Saint Iohn*, p. 280. See also Goodwin, *An Exposition*, vol. III, pp. 28, 62, 63. Thomas Brightman noted that the Jews "most abound in countries East and North, in respect of Iudea," in *The Revelation of Saint Iohn*, p. 310. See also John Archer, *The Personall Reign of Christ upon Earth* (1642), pp. 50 ff., anonymous (possibly Henry Jessey), *An Information Concerning the Present State of the Jewish Nation in Europe and Judea* (1658), p. 7. For the drying up of the Euphrates, see Brightman, *The Revelation of St. Iohn*, pp. 257 and 325 where he indicates 1650 as the year when it was to happen; H. Broughton, *The Seven Viols Or A briefe and plaine Exposition upon the 15: and 16: Chapters of the Revelation* (1628), p. 63, where there is an allusion to "Our Country-man M. Brightman."

[66] Mede, *A Key to the Apocalypse*, pp. 428, 431; Mather, *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation*, pp. 103–104: "If the Jews should not repent before Christs coming from heaven to judge the world, they must needs perish in that deluge of fire."

[67] Henry Finch, *The Worlds Great Restauration, or The Calling of the Jewes* (1621), p. 3. See the study on Finch by Franz Kobler "Sir Henry Finch (1558–1625)," in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 16 (1945–1951): 101–120 and Wilfrid R. Prest, "The Art of Law and the Law of God: Sir Henry Finch (1558–1625)," in *Puritans and Revolutionaries*, eds. Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), esp. pp. 108–112.

James had not sufficiently supported – Finch pondered the options before England and the rest of Protestant Christendom: and the only solution lay in the Jews – a view with which Goodwin, who read Finch closely, agreed. For Goodwin, the conversion of the Jews was to take place after the destruction of Rome in 1650 and the defeat of the Turks in Palestine in 1695, as his "conclusion of this discourse" shows.[68] Paul Grebner echoed his position but differed on the dates:

> . . . the true worshipers of God [will] ruine Rome, which shall be about Anno 1666. Rome thus destroyed, the Western Jews shall begin to learn the waies of God, and believe his Gospel (which they cannot do so long as Rome standeth) and shall Anno 1683 enter upon the conversion of their Eastern brethren (the 10 Tribes now invisibly hid in Tartaria and India) and they two (none else) shall ruine the Mahumetan Empire about An 1698.[69]

For Gebner and others, the Jews were Protestantism's strategic allies against both the Sultan and the Pope, and for Increase Mather, "the House of Austria" too.[70] As the Jews, noted Mather, were fighting the Turks in Asia, so the Protestants were fighting the Catholics in Europe:[71] as the Catholics were persecuting the Jews, so had they also, noted Milton in the mid-1650s ("On the Late Massacre in Piedmont"), persecuted the "Protestants" of Vaudois. Protestants and Jews had to cooperate against the Sultan and the Pope: the Restoration of the Jews to Palestine served in wresting for England a military victory over her two unvanquished enemies.

British Restorationists believed that the Jews would be willing to undertake a Christian crusade because they hated the Muslims. By so believing, these writers ignored the extensive evidence which showed that the Jews were not particularly hostile to the Muslims; on the contrary, they favored them over Christians. The French traveler Nicholay declared that the Jews were helping the Turks in the wars against Europe. Marrano Jews, he maintained, who had been ousted from Spain, "haue taught the Turkes diuers inuentions, craftes and engines of warre, as to make artillerie, harquebuses, gunne pouder, shot and other munitions."[72] The Jews, who

[68] Goodwin, *An Exposition*, pp. 195–203.

[69] *A brief Description of the future History of Europe, from Anno 1650 to An. 1710 . . . Manuscript of Paul Grebner extant in Trinity Colledge Library in Cambridge* (1650), p. A2 v. (William Lilly, however, declared the manuscript a counterfeit: *Monarchy or No Monarchy in England* (1651), p. 5). See for a similar view, John Canne, *A Voice from the Temple* (1653), pp. 28–31; Goodwin, *An Exposition*, p. 202; Thomas Brightman's subtitle to his exposition of Daniel, "The restoring of the Jewes, and their calling to the faith of Christ, after the utter overthrow of their three last enemies, is set forth in lively colours"; Homes, *The Resurrection Revealed*, p. 52.

[70] Mather, *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation*, p. 36.

[71] Ibid., pp. 36–37. [72] Nicholay, *The Nauigations*, p. 130v.

had shared expulsion with the Muslims from "reconquered" Spain, and who had found shelter in the Ottoman Empire and the North African regencies, were helping their fellow-victims against the Christian victimizers. While Christian spokesmen devised an interpretation that pitted Jew against Muslim in order to secure a Christian victory, the travelers noted that Jews who had been badly treated in Christendom were supporting their Muslim protectors against their former persecutors. Every Ottoman vizier, observed Blount, kept a Jew whose "experience of Christendome, with their continuall intelligence, is thought to advise most of that mischeife, which the Turke puts in execution against us."[73] Indeed, Manassah ben Israel expressed Jewish gratitude to the Ottoman Muslims for their toleration and opportunity: in his address *To His Highnesse the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1655), he included a section on "How Profitable the Nation of the Iewes are" in the Muslim Empire, and he described the favorable condition of the "many Millions" of Jews who lived under the Turks. At no point in the treatise did ben Israel suggest that the Jews would be willing to destroy the Muslims who had allowed them to trade and prosper among them. Indeed, not a single Renaissance Jewish writer in England expressed the desire to destroy the Muslims.

One of the striking paradoxes of the portrayal of Jews as warriors for Christendom was the fact that the Jews had not risen to positions of military authority in any of the Christian countries in which they lived. Rather, they were so often persecuted that they were willing to help the Muslims against the Christians – thus their support of the Ottomans in the sieges of Malta (1565) and of Cyprus (1570). In the case of Malta, the Jews financed the Turks, and in the latter case, Joseph Nasi, a Marrano adviser to the Turkish Sultan Selim II, engineered the island's capture.[74] Nasi enjoyed great power at the High Porte and, as a descendant of Jews expelled from Spain, intensely hated the Spaniards and helped the Turks against the Catholic adversary. The fact that Nasi was hostile to Catholicism did not go unnoted by anti-Catholic English writers, and it is quite possible that the idea of Restoration first entered the Protestant, particularly the English, imagination because of the figure of Nasi, an anti-Catholic Jew with power and wealth who, with the assistance of the Ottoman rulers, was said to have encouraged his relatives and friends to settle in the

[73] Blount, *A Voyage*, p. 115

[74] Harold Fisch, *The Dual Image: A Study of the figure of the Jew in English Literature* (London: World Jewish Congress, 1971, first publ. 1959), pp. 29–30; Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 111; Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk*, p. 157. By the 1600s, "there was a large community of Jews at Algiers . . . living on terms of tolerable harmony with the Mohammedans, and united to them by the bond of a common hatred of the Spanish." in Playfair, *The Scourge of Christendom*, p. 25

Tiberias area of Palestine.[75] Of course, neither Nasi nor the Ottomans would have remotely considered the kind of exclusively Christian Restoration which English advocates proclaimed: the fact, however, that a powerful Jew was settling Jews in Palestine probably gave momentum to the idea of Restoration in English, continental and New England thought.

Observing this Jewish presence in the midst of the Muslim Empire, English writers interpreted it as a sign of things to come. Furthermore, the idea that the Jews were irrevocably hostile to the Catholics encouraged Britons to believe that once the wars of Gog and Magog started, the first enemy of England whom the Jews would eliminate would be the Pope. The destruction of the "Papists" at the hands of the Jews may have been understandable to Englishmen because of the Jews' hatred of Catholics who had severely persecuted them. But the idea that the Jews would then turn to destroy the Muslims required of English thinkers a fabrication that had neither historical nor contemporary corroboration. Because Protestants were theologically and militarily opposed to the Muslims, and because the Jews were considered future Protestants, it was concluded that the Jews were hostile to the Muslims. While the Jews had been prohibited from living in England and the rest of the British Isles before the mid-1650s, and allowed to reside only in small and quiet numbers after the Restoration, they had prospered among the Muslims in their "millions," as ben Israel had noted. Nevertheless, they were still expected to fight the Muslims out of Palestine: for only then would England's Protestantism prevail without the loss of a single Christian life.

Jews were portrayed as the spearhead of Protestantism into the Ottoman lands of unbelief and "Mahometanism." So much were the Jews part of English strategy that they were imagined to ally themselves with Persia, the Shi'ite enemy of the Turks. The anti-Turkish Persian–English alliance, which English strategists and writers from the Shirley brothers on had hoped for, was now joined by the Jews. This alliance was to encourage the Persians on the eastern flank of the Ottoman Empire to attack the Sunni Turks and reduce the pressure on Europe.[76] Conveniently, the "Sophy" was to join the Jews against the Turk, and, according to a 1607 anonymous translation of an Italian text, numerous European leaders were to assist the Jews to "recouer the Land of Promise, & expell the Turks out of Christendome."[77] This idea of a Christian–Jewish–Persian

[75] For a biography of Nasi, see Cecil Roth, *The House of Nasi* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1948)

[76] See Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, chapter 5; Sha'ban, "The Mohammedan World," chapter 6

[77] *Newes from Rome. Of two mightie Armies, as well footemen as horsmen. The first of the great Sophy, the other of an Hebrew people, till this time not discouered, comming from the Mountaines of Caspii* (1607), titlepage.

alliance against the Turks was quite popular: "There is a fair probability now afore us," wrote Nathaniel Homes in the early 1650s, "that the Turk at present invading Europe, will open a wide opportunity to the Jews to arise to return to their own Land . . . The Jews are likely to be encouraged to take the Field, assisted with the Persians (greatly incensed of late against the Turk)."[78] To English eschatologists reflecting on the geo-political map of the Levant, the prospect of two anti-Turkish groups uniting together against the Ottomans and fighting for England seemed quite plausible.

When the Persians, however, started persecuting the Jews in 1663, Isaac Newton maintained that after the Jews captured Palestine, they would be attacked by "Persia and Arabia," but they would prove "invincible."[79] The wars of the Jews and their military successes (or defeats) were clearly predicated on England's eschatological hopes for far-off enmities and alliances among religious communities in the Levant. Increase Mather, writing after France had established strong military ties with the Ottomans in the second half of the seventeenth century, affirmed that Jewish Restoration entailed the destruction of the Muslim–Catholic alliance;[80] Henry More viewed the Jews and the Church of Christ as the only allies against the "Satanical Kingdom of Mahomet."[81] In such a context of eschatological expectation, anti-Muslim Restorationism flourished, and every success of Christian Europe (and of imaginary restoring Jews) in stemming Turkish advances was welcomed by English writers. In 1688, after the expulsion of the Turks from Hungary, an anonymous writer announced 1691–1693 as the years of the Jews' Restoration to Palestine. Once there, the Jews would spend seven years purifying the Jerusalem sanctuary "from all the Filth and Pollution that the Enemies of God, namely Antichrist, and the Turks, will leave behind them." Such a Restoration, however, would serve Christians in a higher manner than the Jews: for once restored, the Jews would not retain their Jewishness: "make haste home unto your Land," he wrote, "where you shall see Jesus Christ the true Messiah, eye to eye."[82] Not one English writer who advocated Restorationism ever dissociated it from the Christianization of the Jews: indeed, after the

[78] Nathaniel Homes, *The Resurrection-Revealed Raised, Above Doubts, & Difficulties* (1661), p. 179.

[79] Frank E. Manuel, *The Religion of Isaac Newton* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), p. 134; cf. Anon., *Eclectical Chiliasm, or a Discourse Concerning the State of Things from the Beginning of the Millennium to the End of the World* (1700), p. 50; Nathaniel Crouch, *The Fatal and Final Extirpation* [sic] *and Destruction of ehe* [sic] *Jews out of the Empire of Persia* (1683), pp. 201 ff. See also the treatise by Evelyn, "The History of the Late Final Exturpation and Exilement of the Jewes out of the Empire of Persia," in *The History*, pp. 113 ff.

[80] Mather, *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation*, pp. 21, 46.

[81] More, *Apocalypsis Apocalypseos*, p. 82.

[82] *The Jews Jubilee or, the Conjunction and Resurrection of the Dry Bones of the Whole House of Israel* (1688), pp. 2, 13.

Restoration, there were to be no more Jews, only Protestant Christians with allegiance to England. "I dream not of that return," wrote Thomas Brightman, "which as yet they do, That they [Jews] may renew the Temple, restore the Ceremonies, and possesse the land in times past . . . But I speak of a restoring to their Country, wherein they shall worship Christ."[83] Restoration was predicated on renunciation of Judaism: it was God's miracle whereby the Jews would convert to Christianity.

Once the Jews converted and occupied the Christianized land of Palestine, the most difficult problem facing Christendom's relationship with the Holy Land would be resolved: for ever since the Crusades, the Europeans had found that their Christian armies were eager to wage war against the infidels in the Levant but were not too willing to stay there and occupy the land.[84] After all, and regardless of religious symbols and devotions, Englishmen were more attached to their own land than to what some travelers insisted was the barren land of Palestine. The Jews happily solved this problem of occupation: for in English eyes, the Jews were of the "east" but willing to serve the "west" in destroying what Thomas Matthews called the "Oriental Antichrist."[85] The Jews, Englishmen believed, wanted to end their Christian-compelled diaspora and settle in the promised land as its Christian occupiers. That is why, one writer urged, Christian potentates would be willing to assist the Jews financially and "pour in their treasures" so that the Jews, along with the Gentiles, would rebuild "Jerusalem and the rest of the waste and desolate Cities."[86] The Jews were the military means to a Christian religious and financial end: they were the mercenaries of the Christian God.

In such a context of Turkish danger and British Restorationism, the rise of the messianic claimant Sabbatai Sevi (Zevi) in the 1660s could not have been more propitious for some Christian eschatologists. News of the Sevi movement was avidly received by Englishmen who saw it as the promised military campaign to restore the Jews to Palestine and destroy the Turks. In August 1665, a letter from "Saley in Barbary" reported that the Jews had "already possest themselves of several Places and Cities, putting all the Inhabitants to the Sword";[87] and in October, a letter from Antwerp reported that the Jews were about to "possess themselves in

[83] Brightman, *A Commentary on the Canticles or the Song of Solomon* (Amsterdam, 1644), p. 357.

[84] Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 177.

[85] Thomas Matthews, *Clavis Apocalyptica: or A Prophetical Key: By which The great Mysteries in the Revelation of St. John, and the Prophet Daniel are opened* (1651), p. 76. See also Mather's allusion to the "Oriental notions" in the Scriptures, *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation*, p. 29.

[86] *Eclectical Chiliasm*, p. 39.

[87] *A New Letter sent from Scotland concerning the further Proceedings of the JEWS* (1665), p. 6.

Meka."[88] Another letter from Aberdeen, written a few days later, confirmed that the followers of Sevi "have had Encounters with the Turks, and slain with the Turks, defeating several Bodies, and killing many Thousands, none being able to stand against them. They give Liberty of Conscience to all, except the Turks, endeavouring the utter Ruine and Extirpation of them."[89] Another version of the above letter from Antwerp quoted a Jewish source in Sali, Morocco: "he thinketh they [the Jews] possessed the Arabians Countrey, and went out of Africa into America by the strait of the entry into the Red-Sea."[90] All these letters confirmed that a Jewish military force had begun to fight the Turks and move toward Palestine. Englishmen eagerly awaited the Jews' victory over the Turks and the beginning of the millennium.

The repercussions of Sevi's messianism were widely felt in London. Learning about Sevi's movement in Palestine, his appointment of subordinate "Princes," his plans to restore to Jerusalem – and all this happening in the momentous year 1666 (since it included the number 666 which had been mentioned in Revelation, 13:18) – Britons projected their Protestant anti-Turkish expectations on the movement: Sabbatai Sevi came to be viewed as an army leader fighting the Muslims who, after capturing Palestine, would convert to Christianity and raise the banner of Protestantism in the Levant. In this portrait of Sevi as a Jew about to convert to Christianity, he was, like Manassah ben Israel earlier, not only ignored in terms of his own declared purposes (which were not Christian), but trapped in Protestant fabrication. Sevi was viewed as a Jew fulfilling a Christian not a Jewish goal. As late as 1708, an anonymous author recalled how Sevi was made to accomplish "what the Christians seem'd so dispos'd to desire."[91]

The English and Scottish perception of Sevi's Restorationism consisted in a conversionist attitude to the Jews and an ignorance of the real nature of Sevi's movement – until Paul Rycault published the first account exposing it in his *The Present State* (1668). After Sevi had failed in his proposed mission and converted to Islam in 1666, strong hostility to Sevi developed

[88] Anon., "A Letter from Antwerp Oct. 10/20 1665." in *The Restauration of the Jewes. Or, A True Relation of their Progress and Proceedings in order to the regaining of their Ancient Kingdom. Being the Substance of several Letters viz. From Antwerp, Legorn, Florence, &c. Published by R.R.* (1665), p. 3. Note also the title of *The Last Letters to the London Merchants and Faithful Ministers Concerning the further Proceedings of the Conversion and Restauration of the Jews. With most strange and wonderful Miracles, performed by the Holy Captain-General of the Wandring Israelites. A Prophecie touching the Downfall of Babylon in 66, and the time of the Gospel to be Preach'd throughout the whole World. The Number of their Great Armies. A Description of their Persons, Habits, and Weapons, the routing of the King of Arabia, and killing many thousand Turks* (1665).

[89] *A New Letter ... sent from Scotland*, p. 1. [90] *The Restauration of the Jewes*, p. 3.

[91] *The Devil of Delphos, or the Prophets of Baal. Containing an account of a notorious Imposter, call'd Sabatai Sevi, Pretended Messiah of the Jews* (1708), p. 56.

in England, and in 1669, John Evelyn denounced him as one of the "Three late Famous Imposters." The *London Gazette* described Sevi in December 1665 as "a cheat,"[92] and the poet George Wither declared that it was the Antichrist who had gathered "together a Rabble pretending to be Jews extraordinarily congregated, by Divine Providence, to delude those who profess a belief in the true Messias already come."[93] As long as Sevi had been seen to work within the Christian Restorationist interpretation of the Jews, he had the blessing of Protestants: once he demonstrated that he was not really going to fulfill the much-awaited prophecies, he was rejected and became, along with his former co-religionists, "the common derision of the Towns," as Evelyn noted.[94]

The rise of Sabbatai Sevi has been analyzed from various perspectives by twentieth-century scholars. Gershom Scholem in his exhaustive study emphasized the Jewish messianic drive behind the Smyrna prophet;[95] Michael McKeon has pointed to the Protestant context and interpreted England's interest in the Sevi movement as a result of the "juxtaposition of eschatological and commercial factors."[96] But there was clearly another strain in the literature on Sevi, not in terms of the origin and the Judaeo-Ottoman context of his movement but in terms of its wide appeal in England. After all, why should Protestants be so excited about a man who proclaimed himself a Messiah, challenging thereby their own faith in Jesus? "It is strange, that not onely the Jews here, but some hundreds that own the name of Christians among us, think themselves concerned in it," commented the *London Gazette* in December 1665.[97] Clearly, the reason why news about Sevi was received with so much acclaim in England was the hostility to the Ottomans which they believed he shared with them and the conquest of Palestine on which they believed he was intent. Although the commercial and the messianic contexts of his movement are extensive, they could not have been greater than the prospect of Sevi's defeating Christendom's as yet unvanquished enemy, the Muslim, seizing the land of Jesus from infidel hands and then converting to Christianity – whereupon Palestine would turn into a Protestant pro-English land. No wonder that the followers of Sevi were described as

[92] *London Gazette* (December 7–11, 1665), no. 8.

[93] George Wither, *Meditations upon The Lord's Prayer* (1665), p. 37.

[94] Evelyn, *The History*, p. 92.

[95] Gershom Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi, the Mystical Messiah*, trans. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 461–602, for England specifically, see pp. 546–549 where Scholem drew a comparison between Sevi and the Quaker James Nayler who had declared himself the Messiah during the Commonwealth.

[96] Michael McKeon, "Sabbatai Sevi in England," *Association for Jewish Studies Review*, 2 (1977): p. 163.

[97] *London Gazette* (December 7–11, 1665), no. 8.

having "fair" complexions:[98] the "restoring" Jews were not dark-skinned orientals but were of the "West"; while the Muslims were alien and strange, the Jews were familiar and armed "after our fashion," as one writer had written in 1607.[99] The followers of Sevi were either going to fight and conquer the Turks or to have Palestine offered to them by a frightened "Bashaw": in whichever way they proceeded, the fair Jews were to seize Palestine and all the Levant from the dark-skinned Muslims.[100]

Restoration-cum-conversion was the driving force behind England's interest in Sabbatai Sevi, since Sevi was the first Jew to emerge as a potential destroyer of the Turks. Henry Oldenburg wrote to Robert Boyle on August 24, 1665 to assure him that Sevi's conquest of "Meccha" would reduce the Christian fear of the Turks: "now ye Christians need not fear ye Turks any more, there being work enough cut out for ym at Meccah."[101] The Sevi mission was a Christian dream come true, of "fair" non-Christians fighting swarthy non-Christians for the destruction of the latter and the conversion of the former. Not until Napoleon's conquest of Palestine at the end of the eighteenth century would Britain produce a figure – Richard Brothers – who would initiate a British-led (to challenge the French-led) Restoration of the Jews (and the "British Israelites") to Palestine – and therefore ensure that Palestine would come under British not French rule.[102] For British thinkers throughout the Renaissance and the seventeenth century, the Jews were portrayed in Restorationist writings as latter-day crusaders. No wonder, therefore, that when Samuel Lee (1625–1691) drew the map of "Israel" and turned to the population of the land, "from its first habitation to this day," he ignored the "present intruders" who in "Gods due time [would] be dispossessed by Israel."[103] Instead, the Puritan divine turned to the "real" people of Palestine who had been mentioned in the Old Testament: the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Kedomonites, the

98 *The Restauration of the Jewes*, p. 2. This phrase appears again in *A New Letter sent from Scotland*, p. 6.

99 *Newes from Rome*, p. B1 v.

100 *A New Letter Concerning the Jewes, Written by the French Ambassador, at Constantinople to his Brother the French Resident at Venice. Being a true Relation of the Proceedings of the Israelites, the Wonderful Miracles wrought by their Prophet with the terrible Judgments that have fallen upon the Turks* (1666), p. 1. See also *Several New Letters Concerning the Jewes. Sent to divers Persons of Quality here in England* (1665), p. 5: "... at Smyrnas the King of the Jews rides up and down in great State, Two hundred men attending on him and is highly reverenced by the Turks."

101 *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*, vol. 11, p. 481.

102 See my "The Controversy over the Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought 1754–1809," *Durham University Journal*, 87 (1990): 29–44.

103 Samuel Lee, *Israel Redux: or The Restauration of ISRAEL, Exhibited in Two Short Treatises. The First contains an Essay upon some probable grounds that present Tartars near the Caspian Sea, are the Posterity of the ten Tribes of Israel. By Giles Fletcher. The Second, a dissertation concerning their ancient and successive state, with some Scripture Evidences of their future Conversion, and Establishment in their own Land. By S. L.* (1677), pp. 63 ff.

Rephaim, the Avites, the Philistines and many others. For him, as for Selden over half a century earlier and for Thomas Fuller in his 1649 *Pisgah Sight of Palestine*, those people who existed on the pages of the Bible, and not its contemporary inhabitants, were the proper possessors of Palestine. "As the Jews were transitional, from Jews to Protestants, so were the present intruders," from intruders to exiles. Lee also calculated the piece of land which each Jewish tribe would occupy: as the Bible was timeless, so was, for Lee, the political geography of the land of the Bible; as the land was "empty" in Joshua's time, so it was in the seventeenth century. He concluded:

> We have also out of the holy Prophets delineated the new Land of Israel, expatiating from Euphrates to Egypt and the Red Sea and cleared it of the old Inhabitants, to make room for the Vine of Zion.[104]

With one stroke, Lee annihilated the Eastern Christian and Muslim population of Palestine. With another, Increase Mather in New England declared that the Restoration would not be to Palestine only but to "other Countreys adjoyning for their possession."[105] The map of the whole Levant was to be completely transformed: from a Muslim land, it was to become, at the sounding of the trumpet, a Protestant territory. As Charles Robson, the preacher to the company of English merchants in Aleppo, put it half a century before Lee: God would "cast out these vsurpers [Arabs], and (as I hope and pray) restore it to the true owners, the Christians."[106] Palestine belonged to its owners: the Protestants of Britain.

In the medieval period, the Muslim was the "ally" of the Jew as the object of Christian invective and polemic:[107] by the beginning of the seventeenth century, English writers differentiated the two groups and pitted one against the other. Although some travel writers recognized the cooperation of Jews with Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, in the vast corpus of Protestant eschatological literature which appeared in England during this period, the Muslims of the Levant, along with the Eastern Christians, were to be destroyed by the Jews, and the land in which they lived was to be seized from them – by no other than the people with whom they had been allied as "enemies of God." In this context, Jews were granted by English writers a military-theological function within the framework of Christian history:

104 Ibid., p. 123.

105 Mather, *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation*, p. 57.

106 Charles Robson, *Newes from Aleppo. A Letter written to T. V[icars]* (1628), pp. 13–14.

107 Allan and Helen Cutler, *The Jew as Ally of the Muslim: Medieval Roots of Anti-Semitism* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), chapter 4.

having "fair" complexions:[98] the "restoring" Jews were not dark-skinned orientals but were of the "West": while the Muslims were alien and strange, the Jews were familiar and armed "after our fashion," as one writer had written in 1607.[99] The followers of Sevi were either going to fight and conquer the Turks or to have Palestine offered to them by a frightened "Bashaw": in whichever way they proceeded, the fair Jews were to seize Palestine and all the Levant from the dark-skinned Muslims.[100]

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they were depicted in a position of strategic strength to overcome the infidels, and then to accept Protestant Christianity as the true faith. Having been fitted into the Protestant world-view, the Jews were to conquer and then to convert: first, they would act like Davidic warriors and fight the "Turkes": then, after overcoming them, they would become, like Paul, converts to the true faith.[108] The Jews were slipping into the politics of Christian–Muslim confrontation and performing a function that accorded with a fabricated image given to them by the English. They were depicted in such a manner as to fulfill a political vision of reality that Protestant writers were trying to impose on a threatened Christendom.

Clearly, as the Renaissance period drew to a close, a change occurred in the English Protestant assessment of these two historic "allies": the Jews were included in the Christian discourse, but the Muslims and, in the majority of writings, the Eastern Christians, were not. The reasons for this change in attitude are numerous, but the most significant one lies in the fact that the Protestant Reformation had paid extensive attention to the Old Testament and had succeeded in demonstrating to Christian thinkers the importance of Israelite history, scriptures and rabbinic exegesis. Although some of the Reformation figures expressed anti-Semitic views – Luther in particular – those figures nevertheless brought the Old Testament into the devotional and doctrinal scope of European society, so much so that by the 1530s there were Chairs of Hebrew at both Oxford and Cambridge universities – exactly a century before the Arabic Chairs were established. Meanwhile, Jewish scholars began in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries to publish their theological and exegetical works in Latin and in the European vernaculars: as Christians read those works (often in order to refute them), they became exposed to the contemporary voice of the Jews. Rabbis and Jewish scholars wrote about themselves and their religious history: they thus succeeded in defining themselves in their own terms and in confronting (as in the cases of Modena and ben Israel) the prevailing Christian representations of them. The Jews managed to speak in their own voice and, within some intellectual and theological circles, become part of Western "Europe." The Muslims, on the other hand, never wrote anything for a European Christian audience. There is not a single text that was written and published by a Muslim in England (or in the rest of Western Europe) in the entire period under study.

As the history of European anti-Semitism has shown, when Jews refused to convert to Christianity, they were persecuted and sometimes destroyed.

[108] See *The Works of Joseph Mede*, pp. 891–892: "The Mystery of S. Paul's Conversion: or, The Type of the Calling of the Jews"

Muslims, like Jews, also encountered those two options within Christian thinking: to convert or to be destroyed – and Spain had well shown the Christian capacity for enforcing those options on the two communities. But in early modern Christendom, Spain had been the successful exception: European Christians had been powerful enough to convert the Jews and to inflict on them violent persecution (or to expel them into Muslim territory), but they had not, and could not, destroy nor convert the Ottoman Empire of Islam. The majority of the Muslim population, excepting those in the coastal areas who were exposed to West European piracy and naval bombardment, were beyond the reach of Christian armies – and thus beyond the persecution and evangelism which Jews endured in Western Europe. That is why Christian thinkers, in this case English and Scottish writers, devised the eschatological Muslim–Jewish confrontation so that the Muslim Goliath would be defeated by the Jewish David – for the glory of Protestantism. Once the Muslims were destroyed by the Jews in an Armageddon which no Muslim (and only a few Eastern Christians) would survive, then the Jews would renounce their faith, occupy ("restore to") the land of Palestine, and hand the land and themselves over to England. Then the millennium would begin which Protestant Britons (and converted Jews) alone would live to celebrate.

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Conclusion
Islam and Britain: centripetal to centrifugal

Arabia the happy made the World so
Preserving Arts from Overthrow.
Mecha did the great Stagirit admit
Mahomet Prince of Armes, but him of Wit
The Saracens and he
Did joyn in Monarchie.
Long had Philosophy in that great School
Maintained her Intellectual Rule;
Had she not fled from Ruines of the East
To shelter with the Eagle in the West.

(Theophilus Gale, *The Court of the Gentiles*, 1669)

Throughout the Renaissance and the seventeenth century, both Muslims and their Arab-Islamic legacy were part of the religious, commercial and, at certain times, military self-definition of England. In drama and theology, in domestic and in foreign state records, among home-bound preachers and expatriated renegades, in churches and in coffee-houses, among merchants and weavers, sailors and soldiers, the Islam of the Ottoman Empire and the North African regencies was engaged, attacked, discussed and described. Between 1558 and 1685, Islam left its mark on Britain in a way that was unparalleled by any other non-Christian civilization which Britons encountered. For at this stage in its history, Islam could neither be ignored nor "dominated."

Studies of early modern Britain have uniformly focused on its internal history and its links with Christian Europe – both Protestant and Catholic. The confrontation with Spain in the 1580s and 90s and with Catholicism throughout the Elizabethan and Stuart periods; the parliamentary and financial transformations that gave rise to the Civil Wars; the ascendancy of the gentry and the emigration to the New World; the alliance and/or confrontation with Scotland and Ireland; the regicide and the expansion of the navy; the Interregnum and the diffusion of sects; the Restoration of Charles II and the persecution of Nonconformity; the Dutch wars, the

Popish plot, the rivalry with France and the Glorious Revolution – all these are factors that transformed England and the rest of the British Isles. But as the previous chapters have shown, there was, parallel and sometimes intertwined with these factors, the cultural legacy of Arabic Islam and the military might of the Turkish Empire which made the "Renaissance" for England not only an inter-Britannic and inter-European experience, but an inter-Mediterranean and inter-religious one too.

Two venues governed Britain's engagement with Islam in the period under study: the secular venue, under which the military, diplomatic and commercial enterprise was subsumed; and the doctrinal venue, under which conversion to and from Islam, the representation of renegades and the eschatological destiny of Muslims were subsumed. In the case of the former, there had been since the middle of the sixteenth century a recognition, both in England as well as on the continent, of the importance of the Ottoman Empire for military and diplomatic alliances. There had also been a recognition of the domains of Islam (in the Levant, North Africa and the Far East) as a commercial market for Europe. Neither London nor any of the continental capitals hesitated to deal openly with the Muslims on the Mediterranean stage. And much as there may have been a desire on the part of Christian Europeans to preserve the ideal of a united Christendom against the "infidels," throughout the Renaissance and the seventeenth century, and well into the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, British and continental diplomacy repeatedly turned to the Ottomans to effect adjustments in the European balance of power.

It was inevitable, however, that the Ottoman defeat at Vienna in 1683 followed by the Karlowitz treaty of 1699 would lead to the reduction of the Ottoman Empire's role in the Christian theater of diplomacy: the Muslim Empire had begun its military decline. Furthermore, the Empire and its North African regencies no longer threatened Western Christendom but were in retreat before the emergent technology of Europe. Although the domains of Islam still provided markets for British and continental exports, the New World across the Atlantic was attracting European activity, rivalry and enterprise. The flurry of diplomacy and alliances that had marked the dealings of Christian rulers with Turkey and its North African regencies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries decreased; the awe and admiration with which English monarchs and communities had viewed the High Porte and the Arab-Islamic legacy gave way to English power and certitude. In 1680, England scored a victory in Tangier against the Moors which showed, in the words of an anonymous writer, "the Warlike exploits of the Heroick English against the

Barbarians."[1] By then, the English navy had acquired a military capability that enabled it to impose peace treaties (that held) on the North African regencies and to threaten and attack Barbary cities and navigation.[2] Muslims were no longer undefeatable adversaries.

Once the importance to England of the secular venue of diplomacy with Ottoman Islam declined (although trade remained significant), the only venue left for engaging Islam was doctrinal. In this latter venue, the hostility to Muslims and their religion which appeared in literature and in eschatology continued unabated. After the above Tangier victory (although it was a short-lived one), the writer, M. Poseley, described the event in the following words:

> . . . these Devils, like so many Rabbits cover'd in the Sands, or so many Snakes and Poison'd Adders, underneath the long Grass, with their Venomous Darts, spitting Fire at their Mouths, lay in Ambuscade ready to Devour us.[3]

In a commentary on the Book of Revelation published in that same year, 1680, Henry More emphasized how the Saracens "could devour so many Kingdoms in so little time."[4] For Poseley, as for More, the Book of Revelation defined the fate of Muslim North Africa: since in Revelation, the Saracens were bestialized beyond redemption, then, as in the apocalypse, so in Tangier, British soldiers would overcome the Muslim "devourers." The religious venue had now become the exclusive venue for representing the Muslim world, both in the field of battle and in biblical exegesis. The Muslims were becoming a dogmatic image – a fabrication – even when they were "real" enough to be killed by the British cavalry.

The eschatology of English and Scottish writers which produced a new map of the Levant, along with the evangelistic goals which saw Jews restoring to Palestine in order to convert to Christianity and to annihilate the Muslims, was the fabrication of apocalyptic minds whose religious and cultural antipathy to the peoples of the Levant was rigid and unchanging. Such fabrication permitted writers to indulge in unrestrained demonization and hatred of the Muslims – a hatred that dominated the representation of Islam well into the modern period. Indeed, as Edward Said has shown, Orientalism, which became the overarching venue for "representing" Islam and for justifying Western colonization of the Levant and North Africa in the modern period, had extensive roots in Biblical images

[1] *A True Relation of a Great and Bloody fight between the English and the Moors before Tangiere* (1680).
[2] See *C.S.P Domestic, Charles II, 1668–1669*, vol. IX, pp. 632–633 for English naval activity against North African outposts.
[3] *A Letter from Tangier, to a Friend in London* (1683).
[4] Henry More, *Apocalypsis Apocalypseos*, p. 83.

and allusions.[5] Because Islam and Muslims had successfully – and dangerously – confronted Christendom in the Renaissance and the seventeenth century, and because they had been the enemy for too long and for too many reasons, they would always remain the implacable "Other."

What may have further contributed to the emergence of the orientalist venue in Britain is the change that occurred at the end of the early modern period: the works that were published about Islam toward the end of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century treated it not as a dynamic force but as a historical theology, not as a civilization, but as a monotheism that was misguided in its prophecy but that still demonstrated the truth of Christian revelation against Deism and other religious challenges.[6] Although in the first part of the eighteenth century some writers co-opted Islam in their arguments for the *historia monotheistica*, their approach to Islam was no longer to a culture to be engaged but to a creed to be studied and documented. Orientalists such as Simon Ockley, George Sale, Edward Pococke the Younger and others focused on Arabic translations, textual editions and linguistic history: their interest was in Islam as a religious tradition of the past and in Arabic as a "dead" language. Daniel Defoe observed at the beginning of the eighteenth century in his *Complete English Gentleman* that students of Arabic at university were learning "exotick phrases, crabbed expressions, and harsh unsonorous words": there was no "life" in Islamic studies.[7] Such an attitude appeared in other contemporary writings: when Henry Maundrell published his account of *A Journey* in 1697, he did not include among his numerous illustrations any portraits of Muslims or Levantines: the whole drive of the illustrations was historical and archaeological. When, over a century before him, Nicholay's account of the Levant had been published in English, it had included numerous engravings of Muslims and Jews and Christians, men and women, slaves and pashas, clerics and Sufis. Nicholay had seen people in the Levant and had been fascinated by a living ethnography; Maundrell saw classical ruins and architecture.

Another example of this indifference to the peoples of Islam appears in Defoe's *Captain Singleton* (1720), a travelogue ranging from the Americas to

[5] Edward Said, *The Question of Palestine* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980).
[6] See for the view of Islam in the eighteenth century, Pailin, *Attitudes to Other Religions*, and P. J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind: British Perceptions of the World in the Age of Enlightenment* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1982), chapter 4.
[7] Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Gentleman*, ed. K. D. Bulbring (London, 1890), p. 201; quoted in Hamilton, *William Bedwell*, p. 96. Even the English translation of the *Arabian Nights* in 1706–1708, that most lively of Arabic texts, was "stilted and dull," *Tales from the Thousand and One Nights*, trans. and introd. N. J. Dawood (London: Penguin, 1973), p. 9.

Africa and from the Levant to India. Toward the end of the long journeying of the protagonist and his associate, they arrive at "Bassaro, or Balsara" in the Persian Gulf. The city is mentioned without a single description or elaboration: whereas in the early part of the novel Defoe had spent pages describing the lands and peoples of Africa, he simply had nothing to say about the Arabian city: there is no marveling about its populace, no reference to its climate or location, not even a denunciation of Islam and Muslims. Captain Singleton stayed in the city but did not see it.[8]

Shortly after arriving in the city, Singleton and his Quaker friend dressed themselves "after the Persian Manner, in long Vests of Silk, a Gown or Robe of English Crimson Cloth, very fine and handsome, and had let our Beards grow so after the Persian Manner." This disguise helped Singleton pass himself off as a merchant, but it was of no cultural significance whatsoever to the protagonists: Singleton did not even mention whether he liked the clothes or not, or how comfortable or uncomfortable they were. Singleton wore Persian/Muslim clothes, but he found no inherent meaning in them: dressing as a Persian was for Defoe an exotic prank, useful because Singleton did not know a single word of Arabic (or Persian). There was nothing interior, historical or differentiating in the world of Basra: it was a superficial, easily manipulated city where an Englishman who knew only Portuguese and English and knew nothing about Islam or Muslims could easily pass as a Persian just because he dressed like one. The world of Islam was a world of mere externality: there was neither subtlety nor discovery in it.

Singleton left Basra and traveled through the desert to Aleppo and finally to Alexandretta "or as we call it, Scandaroon." The journey took fifty-nine days – and exactly two and a half lines in the account.[9] While a similar distance in Africa had earlier taken up one third of the novel, in the Levant there was nothing to see, nor were there Arabs, Turks, Armenians or Greeks to write about or even react against. There were not even "crabbed expressions" to write down: the world of the Arabs was obsolete and therefore unworthy of record.

Throughout the seventeenth century, England experienced simultaneously a centripetal and a centrifugal relationship with Islam, either embracing elements in the civilization of the Arabs and the Ottomans or vilifying that civilization. Islam was distant enough from Britain to be tantalizing but near enough in its military and commercial impact to be

[8] Defoe, *Captain Singleton*, p. 262.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 264.

immediate: thus preachers and travelers either fitted it into their Christian scheme of the world or reviled it. But in both cases, they recognized and engaged it.

It was at the end of the seventeenth century that the victory of the centrifugal force occurred: Britain was to become opposed to, and apart from, Islam. The admiration for the Arab-Islamic legacy that informed some of this period's thought, the allusions to Islam, and the frequency of Christians and Britons "turning Turke" – all these factors had raised the possibility that the culture of Islam could be comprehended within British self-understanding. After all, in the emerging diversity of British civilization, there was vast linguistic difference, religious antipathy, cultural polarity and ethnic diversity between a Stuart Scotsman and the London Tudor court, between an Irish Catholic and an English Cromwellian, and between an Englishman and a Welshman (whom Englishmen had thought of as such an unchristian savage that they had sent him missionaries in 1649 to preach the Bible). Throughout this period, Islam had not been seen as entirely alien to Europe: its theological formulations conflicted with Christendom, but it was not outside the centripetal imagination of a Rosicrucian or a George Fox, a returning renegade or a fashion-conscious monarch, a reader of the Qur'an or a frequenter of the coffee-house or the Turkish bath.[10] Nor, of course, had it been outside the diplomatic scope of alliance and peace treaty, individual friendship and amicable correspondence – and even marriage.[11]

At the end of the seventeenth century, England, and particularly its London culture, moved toward the toleration of a wide array of subjects and aliens. Jews were allowed to settle in England and elsewhere in the British Isles after 365 years of expulsion. They did not become full subjects of the realm until the nineteenth century, but, slowly, they became integrated into British culture, mores and social classification. Similarly, Catholics, who were always held in suspicion because of their supposed dual allegiance to monarch and pope, were tolerated – albeit not without laws against them even after 1688. And so too were Eastern Christians who were allowed in the early 1670s to establish a church in London. British civilization was inclusive of the non-Protestant (the Catholics and the Eastern Orthodox), of the non-English (Protestant émigrés from France and Belgium) and even of the non-Christians (the Jews) – but not of the Muslims.

[10] For the popularity of Turkish Baths, see C. J. S. Thompson, *The Quacks of Old London* (repr. London: Barnes and Noble, 1993), pp. 266 ff.
[11] See my "Muslims in Seventeenth-Century England," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 8 (1997): 63–82. For a more detailed discussion of Muslims in England, see chapter 1 in my *The Renaissance Triangle: Britons, Muslims, and American Indians* (forthcoming, Columbia University Press, 1999).

For, Muslims were different from all the above groups: they were associated with a history of military and religious power which had succeeded not only in resisting Christian imperialism and evangelization but in threatening the shores of Albion. They had a world of their own, a "Mahumetane" domain with a varied and geographically vast civilization. Furthermore, and in their heyday, they had landed on the coasts of England, Wales and Ireland while maintaining their grip over the "Protestant" land of Palestine. Neither the Jews nor the Eastern Christian emigres nor the French Protestants nor the English and Irish Catholics had ever sunk British ships, captured and enslaved British mariners or threatened the economic welfare of the realm. None of these groups had had an empire similar in power and scope to that of the Ottomans. Rather, Jews, continental Protestants, Catholics and Eastern Christians were all encountered in England as refugees and/or defeated subjects, and they all approached the English, and after 1707, the British monarchy, from a position of weakness. The numerous Greek refugees who visited England in the early seventeenth century sought assistance and succor, while the Jews expelled from Poland in 1649 arrived in England as refugees and Manassah ben Israel later visited London on sufferance.

Muslims were too much a part not only of a non-Christian but of an anti-Christian empire to become quaint minorities in England. That is why, and notwithstanding the admiration for the Arab-Islamic legacy that had been expressed in English writings, and notwithstanding John Locke's argument for the toleration and endenization of Muslims in England,[12] there was no expression of philo-Islamism in England in the early modern period – in the way that there was of "philo-Semitism." For neither could Islam and the Muslims be appropriated – as Judaism and the Jews had been – into a triumphant Biblical/Protestant view of the world, nor could they be dominated by British teleology and imperialism: indeed, it is not likely that there would have been "philo-Semitism" in England at all if sixteenth-and seventeenth-century Jews had possessed an empire which confronted England and the rest of Christendom – in the way the Muslim empire did.

The period under study witnessed the beginnings of British colonial ideology, in which the key to domination lay in the religious conversion and the cultural subordination of the "natives" – as occurred in North America and West Africa. This colonial ideology was not possible in the Muslim Levant. From the eighteenth century on, however, Britain's relationship with the domains of Islam, both in the Levant and in the Far East,

[12] See my "John Locke and the 'Turbanned Nations'," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 2 (1991): 67–77.

was transformed into a relationship of power and empire: by the middle of the eighteenth century, Brtain had begun its domination of Mugal India and by 1882, it occupied Egypt and Sudan, and after 1918, Palestine, trans-Jordan, Iraq and the Persian Gulf region. In order to consolidate its domination, British armies and missionaries cooperated in establishing economic, political and religious hegemony. The centrifugal separation from the Arab-Islamic legacy that had occurred at the end of the seventeenth century was translated into an open polarization between the Christian and the "Mahometan," between the Authorized Bible and the "Turkish Alcoran." As a result, British missionaries set about to convert the entire population of the Arab-Islamic Levant into an Anglican or Presbyterian reflection of their empire. Not surprisingly, it was in Palestine, which came under the British mandate after the end of World War I, that those missions and missionaries were most active: Muslim and Eastern Christian Palestinian children in the Church Missionary Society schools, which were sponsored by the Church of England, were taught not only to pray for the safety of the British monarch, but to implore God to "restore" the Jews to their land.[13] The conversionist and Restorationist goals of the early modern period, and the denigration of the Levantines that had been produced by centuries of English literary and theological anxiety, finally came together in the certitude of British Protestant imperialism.

[13] I owe this recollection to my mother who was brought up in the Church Missionary Society orphanage in Nazareth, Palestine between 1918 and 1929. For a study of British evangelism in Palestine, see Abdul Latif Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine, 1800–1901: A Study of Religious Educational Enterprise* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951).

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